The Journal of Historical Review

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Impact and Future of Holocaust Revisionism
Robert Faurisson

Media Coverage of the Irving-Lipstadt Trial

My Testimony in the London Trial
Kevin MacDonald

Irving and 'Holocaust Denial'
Joseph Sobran

IHR Conference Set for May

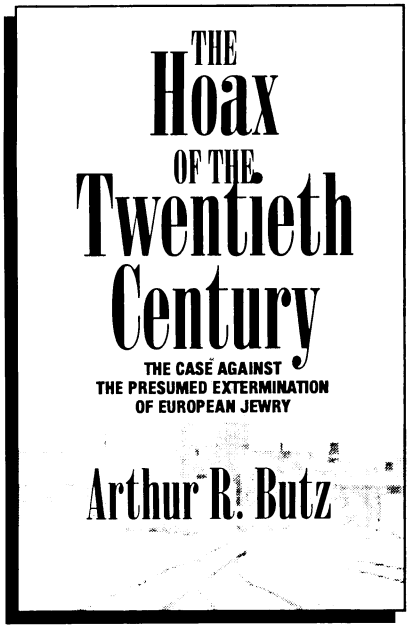
Foiling Espionage in Berlin Radio's Arab Service
Yûnus Bahrî

— And More —

The Unsurpassed Standard Refutation

THE HOAX OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The Case Against the Presumed Extermination of European Jewry



Yehuda Bauer and Prof. Moshe Davis agreed that there is a "recession in guilt feeling" over the Holocaust, encouraged by fresh arguments that the reported extermination of six million Jews during World War II never took place ... "You know, it's not difficult to fabricate history," Davis added.

— Chicago *Sun-Times*, Oct. 25, 1977

In spite of the many important breakthroughs in revisionist scholarship since it was first published in 1976, Dr. Butz' brilliant pathbreaking study remains unsurpassed as the most comprehensive one-volume scholarly refutation of the Holocaust extermination story.

With an engineer's eye for technical detail and a mature scholar's mastery of the sources, the Northwestern University professor ranges from Auschwitz to Zyklon in debunking the gas chamber and the Six Million stories.

In nearly 400 pages of penetrating analysis and lucid commentary, Dr. Butz gives a graduate course on the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War. He scrupulously separates the cold facts from the tonnage of stereotyped myth and propaganda that has served as a formidable barrier to the truth for more than half a century.

Chapter by solidly referenced chapter, Butz applies the scholar's rigorous technique to every major aspect of the Six Million legend, carefully explaining his startling conclusion that "the Jews of Europe were not exterminated and there was no German attempt to exterminate them."

Focusing on the postwar "war crimes trials," where the prosecution's evidence was falsified and secured by coercion and even torture, Butz re-examines the very German records so long misrepresented. He re-evaluates the concept and technical feasibility of the legendary extermination gas chambers. Reviewing the demographic statistics, which do not allow for the loss of six million European Jews, he concludes that perhaps a million may have perished in the turmoil of deportation, internment and war.

Maligned by persons who have made no effort to read it, bitterly denounced by those unable to refute its thesis, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* has sent shock waves through the academic and political world. So threatening has it been to Zionist interests and the international Holocaust lobby that its open sale has been banned in several countries, including Israel and Germany.

In three important supplements included in this edition, the author reports on key aspects of the still unfolding global Holocaust controversy.

Now in its *tenth* US printing, this classic, semi-underground best seller remains the most widely read revisionist work on the subject. It is must reading for anyone who wants a clear picture of the scope and magnitude of the historical cover-up of the age.

Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City.

He received his Bachelor of Science and Master of Science degrees in Electrical Engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering. Dr. Butz is the author of numerous technical papers. Since 1980 he has been a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of *The Journal of Historical Review*, published by the Institute for Historical Review.

The Hoax of the Twentieth Century
by Arthur Butz

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On the Cover: Robert Faurisson addresses the Tenth IHR Conference, 1990.

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A Revisionist Chronicle

Impact and Future of Holocaust Revisionism

ROBERT FAURISSON

The following is the remark, not of a revisionist, but rather by an anti-revisionist:[1]

> "Holocaust denier," "revisionist," "negationist": everyone knows what such an accusation means. It effectively means exclusion from civilized humanity. Anyone who is suspected of this is finished. His public life is destroyed, his academic reputation ruined.

And he went on to add:

> One day people will have to discuss the state of public affairs in a country where to brand a renowned scholar as a Holocaust denier (by hitting him with the 'Auschwitz Lie' club [*die Keule der Auschwitz-Lüge*]) is enough to destroy him morally, in an instant.

Robert Faurisson

Against the Law

Writings such as this essay cannot be sold openly in my country. They must be published and distributed privately.

In France, it is forbidden to question the *Shoah* — also called the "Holocaust."

A law on the "freedom of the press" enacted on July 13, 1990, makes it a crime to question the Shoah, in its three hypostases: the alleged genocide of the Jews, the alleged Nazi gas chambers, and the alleged figure of six million Jewish victims of the Second World War. Violators are subject to a prison term ranging from one month to one year, a fine of 2,000 to 300,000 francs ($333 to $50,000), an order to pay considerable damages, and other sanctions. More precisely, this law makes it a crime to question (*"contester"*) the reality of any of the "crimes against humanity" as defined in 1945 and punished in 1946 by the judges of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, a court established exclusively by the victors exclusively to judge the vanquished.

Debates and controversies about the Shoah are, of course, still permitted, but only within the limits set by the official dogma. Controversies or debates that might lead to a challenging of the Shoah story as a whole, or of a part of it, or simply to raise doubt, are forbidden. To repeat: on this issue, even doubt is proscribed, and punished.

In France, the impetus for such a law (which is of Israeli inspiration),[2] came in 1986 from several historians of Jewish origin, including Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Georges Wellers, and François Bédarida, together with Chief Rabbi René-Samuel Sirat.[3] The law was enacted in 1990 on the initiative of former prime minister Laurent Fabius, then a member of the Socialist government, president of the National Assembly, and himself a Jewish militant of the Jewish cause. During this same period (May 1990), a

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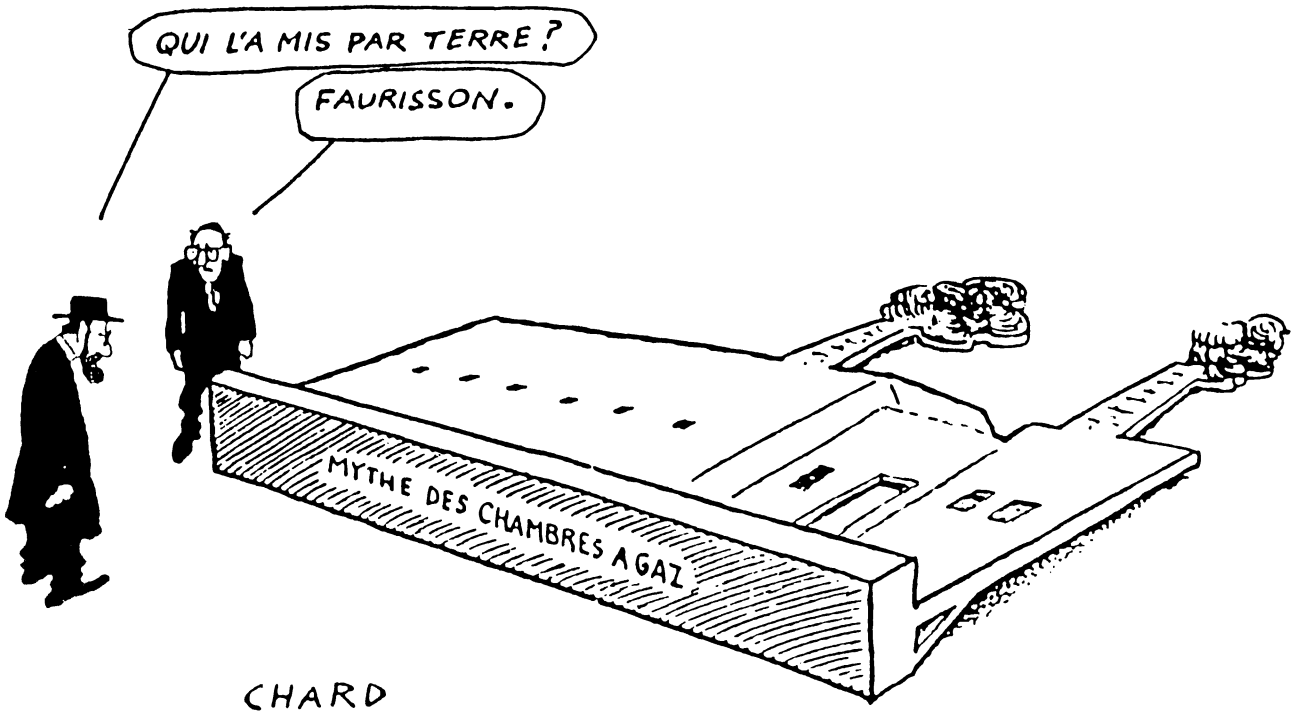
Robert Faurisson is Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, he was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. After years of private research and study, Dr. Faurisson first made public his skeptical views about the Holocaust extermination story in articles published in 1978 and 1979 in the French daily *Le Monde*. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in several books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have been published in this *Journal*.

This essay, translated from the French by S. Mundi, is adapted from the introduction (dated December 3, 1998) to *Écrits révisionnistes (1974-1998)*, a four-volume collection, published in 1999, of many of Faurisson's revisionist writings.



"Who knocked it down?," asks a Rabbi about the "Myth of the gas chambers" facade. "Faurisson," is the reply. Drawing by French artist Françoise Pichard ("Chard").

desecration of graves in the Jewish cemetery of Carpentras, in Provence, had given rise to a media furor that nullified any inclination on the part of opposition lawmakers to mount any effective resistance to the bill. In Paris some 200,000 marchers, with a host of Israeli flags borne high, demonstrated against "the resurgence of the horrid beast." Notre Dame's great bell tolled as for a particularly tragic or significant event in the history of France. Once the law was on the statute books (promulgated in the *Journal officiel* on the 14th of July, the national holiday: the same issue, incidentally, that announced Vidal-Naquet's nomination to the Order of the *Légion d'honneur*), the Carpentras outrage was mentioned only, if at all, with a certain distance, as a mere reminder. Only the "Fabius-Gayssot" Act remained.

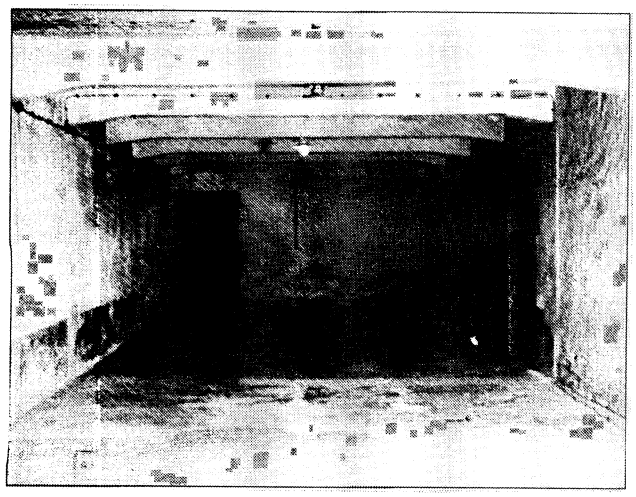
Under pressure from national and international Jewish organizations, and following the Israeli and French examples, other countries similarly adopted laws forbidding any questioning of the Shoah. Such has been the case for Germany, Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain and Lithuania. In practice, such specific laws are not absolutely necessary to combat and suppress historical revisionism. In France, as elsewhere, the practice has often been to prosecute questioners of the Shoah under other laws, according to the needs of a given case, on the basis of laws against racism or anti-Semitism, defaming living persons, insulting the memory of the dead, attempting to justify crimes, or spreading false news, and — a source of cash indemnities for the plaintiffs — using personal injury statutes.

In France the police and the judiciary rigorously ensure the protection thus accorded to an official version of Second World War history. According to this rabbinical version, the major event of the conflict was the Shoah, in other words the physical extermination of the Jews that the Germans are said to have carried out from 1941-1942 to 1944-1945. (Lacking any document with which to assign a precise time span to the event — and for good reason, as it is a matter of fiction — the official historians propose only dates that are as divergent as they are approximate.)

A Revisionist Chronicle

Since 1974 I have had to fight so many legal battles that I've been unable to find time to compose the systematic exposition that one is entitled to expect from a professor who, over so many years, has devoted his efforts to a single aspect of Second World War history: the "Holocaust" or the Shoah.

Year after year, an avalanche of trials, entailing the gravest consequences, has thwarted my plans to publish such a work. Apart from my own cases, I have had to devote considerable time and effort to the defense, before their respective courts, of other



For decades this room in the crematory building in the Auschwitz I main camp has been shown to many hundreds of thousands of tourists as an execution "gas chamber" in its "original state." It is now authoritatively acknowledged that this "gas chamber" is actually a fraudulent postwar reconstruction.

revisionists in France and abroad. Today, as I write these words, two cases are being brought against me, one in the Netherlands, the other in France, while I must also intervene, directly or indirectly, in proceedings pending against revisionists in Switzerland, Canada, and Australia. For lack of time, I have had to decline helping others, notably two Japanese revisionists.

Around the world, our adversaries' tactic is the same: use courts to paralyze the work of the revisionists, if not to sentence them to prison terms or to order them to pay fines or damages. For those convicted, imprisonment means a halt to all revisionist activity, while those ordered to pay large sums are compelled to set off on a feverish pursuit of money, goaded by threats of bailiffs, "writs of seizure," "notices to third parties," and freezing of bank accounts. For this reason alone, my life over the past quarter of a century has been difficult. It still is and, in all probability, will remain so.

To make matters worse, my idea of research has never been that of the "paper" professor or historian. I consider it indispensable to see the terrain for myself: either the terrain of the forensic investigation, or the terrain where the adversary is deployed. I wouldn't be entitled to talk about the camps of Dachau, Majdanek, Auschwitz or Treblinka without first having visiting them to examine for myself the buildings and the people there. I won't talk about anti-revisionist activities, such as demonstrations, conferences, symposia, and trials, without having attended them, or at least delegating an instructed observer to the events — a practice that is not without risk, but which enables one to obtain information from a good source. I have friends and associates produce countless letters and statements. Whenever possible, I go myself to the ramparts. To cite but one example: the impressive international "Holocaust" conference organized in Oxford in 1988 by the late billionaire Robert Maxwell (also known as "Bob the Liar"). I believe I can justifiably say that it aborted so pitifully (as Maxwell himself admitted),[4] thanks to an operation on the spot that I personally organized — with the help of a female French revisionist who lacked neither courage, nor daring, nor ingenuity: her activism alone was certainly worth several books.

To the hours and days thus spent preparing court cases or various sporadic actions should be added the hours and days lost in hospital, recovering from the effects of an exhausting struggle or from the consequences of physical attacks carried out by militant Jewish groups. (In France armed militias are strictly prohibited, except for the Jewish community.)[5]

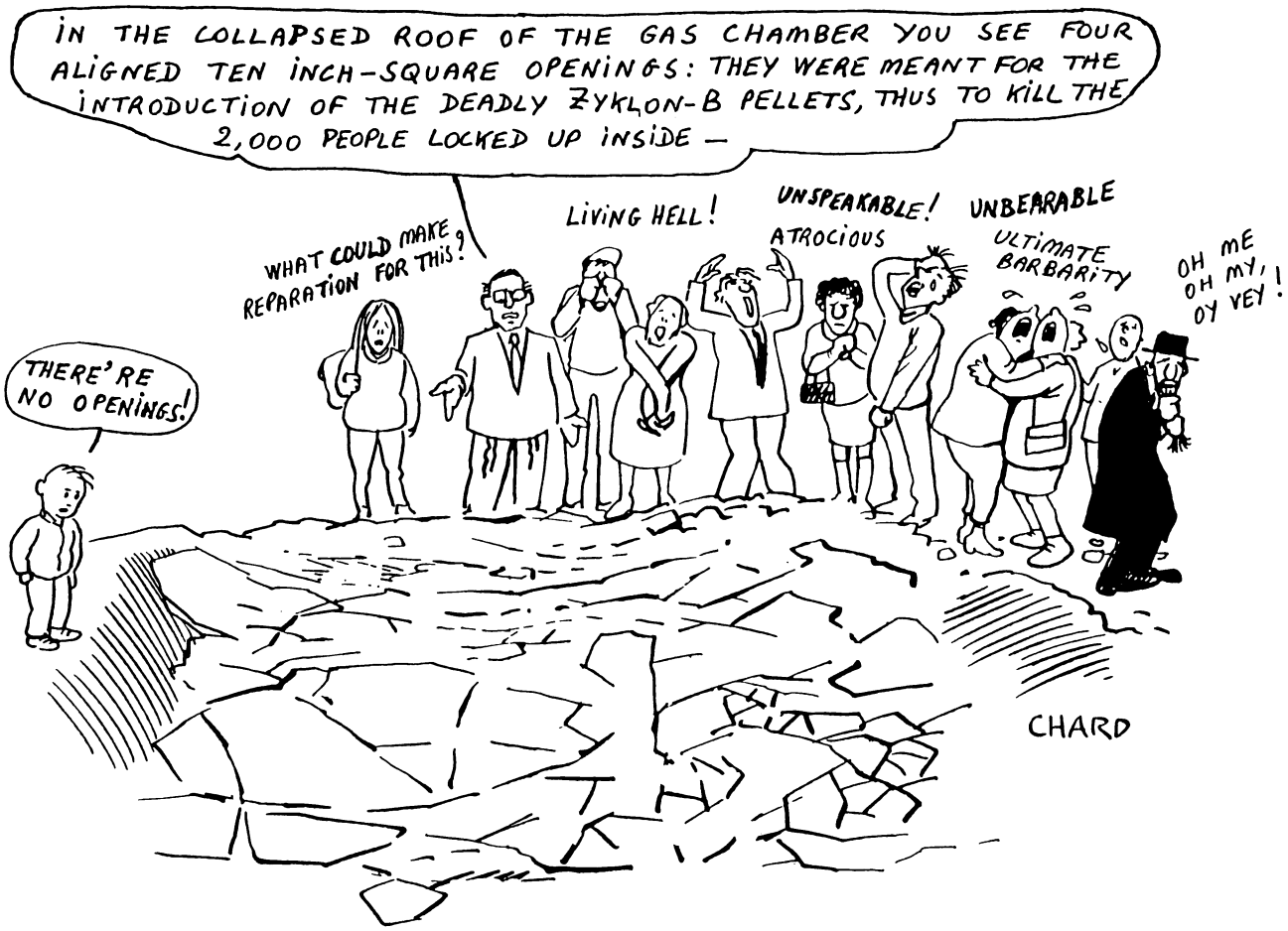
Finally, I have had to encourage, direct, or coordinate, in France and abroad, numerous activities or works of a revisionist nature, shore up those whose strength has faltered, provide for the continuance of action, answer requests, warn against provocations, errors, digressions from the goal, and, above all combat ill-conceived accommodations given that, for some revisionists, there is a great temptation in such a struggle to seek compromise with the adversary and, sometimes, even to back down. Examples of war-weary revisionists who have sunk to public contrition are, sad to say, not lacking. I shall not cast a stone at them, though. I know from experience that discouragement is liable to befall each of us because the contest is so unequal: our resources are laughable, while those of our opponents are immense.

Historical Revisionism

Revisionism is a matter of method and not an ideology.

It demands, in all research, a return to the starting point, an examination followed by re-examination, re-reading and rewriting, evaluation followed by revaluation, reorientation, revision, recasting. It is, in spirit, the contrary of ideology. It does not *deny*, but instead aims to affirm with greater exactitude. Revisionists are not "deniers" (or, to use the French expression, "negationists"). Rather, they endeavor to seek and to find things where, it seemed, there was nothing more to seek or find.

Revisionism can be carried out in a hundred activities of everyday life and in a hundred fields of historical, scientific, or literary research. It does not necessarily call established ideas into question, but


IN THE COLLAPSED ROOF OF THE GAS CHAMBER YOU SEE FOUR ALIGNED TEN INCH-SQUARE OPENINGS: THEY WERE MEANT FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF THE DEADLY ZYKLON-B PELLETS, THUS TO KILL THE 2,000 PEOPLE LOCKED UP INSIDE —
WHAT COULD MAKE REPARATION FOR THIS?
LIVING HELL!
UNSPEAKABLE! ATROCIOUS
UNBEARABLE ULTIMATE BARBARITY
OH ME OH MY, OY VEY!
THERE'RE NO OPENINGS!
CHARD

In this drawing French cartoonist "Chard" (Françoise Pichard) underscores the remarkable fact that the most notorious "gas chamber" at Auschwitz-Birkenau has no openings through which deadly Zyklon could have been introduced. For decades it has been claimed that Zyklon B pellets were poured into Birkenau's Krema II "gas chamber" through four holes in the roof. (See, for example, Y. Gutman & M. Berenbaum, *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, 1994, p. 167.) However, and as any observant visitor at the site can readily determine for himself, there are no holes or openings in this roof (which is now largely in ruins). On the basis of this fact alone, a central pillar of the Holocaust extermination story is discredited. As revisionist scholar Robert Faurisson has succinctly put it on numerous occasions, "No Holes, No 'Holocaust'!"

often leads to qualifying them somewhat. It seeks to untangle the true from the false. History is, in essence, revisionist; ideology is its enemy. Because ideology is strongest during times of war or conflict, and because it then churns out falsehood in abundance for propaganda needs, the historian working in that area is well advised to redouble his vigilance. In probing deep into the "truths" of which he has been reminded so often, he will doubtless realize that, when a war has led to tens of millions of deaths, the very first victim is the ascertainable truth: a truth that must be sought out and re-established.

The official history of the Second World War comprises a bit of truth mixed with a great deal of falsehood.

Official history: Its Retreats in the Face of Revisionist Advances

It is accurate to say that National Socialist Germany built concentration camps; it did so after, and at the same time as, a good number of other countries, all of which were convinced that their camps would be more humane than prison. Hitler saw in them what Napoléon III had thought he saw in the creation of penal colonies: progress for humanity. But it is false to hold that Germany ever established "extermination camps" (an expression invented by the Allies).

It is accurate to say that the Germans manufactured gas-powered vehicles (*Gaswagen*). *But* it is false to say that they ever built homicidal gas vans (if a single one of these had ever existed, it would be

Raul Hilberg

on display at an automobile museum, or at one of the various "Holocaust" museums, at least in the form of a drawing of scientific value).

It is accurate to say that the Germans employed Zyklon (made from a base of hydrocyanic acid and in use since 1922) to safeguard, by disinfestation, the health of large numbers of civilians, troops, prisoners, and internees. *But* they never used Zyklon to kill anyone, let alone to put to death throngs of human beings at once. In light of the draconian precautions for the use of hydrogen cyanide gas, the gassing of inmates as allegedly carried out at Auschwitz and at other camps would have been fundamentally impossible.[6]

It is accurate to say that the Germans envisaged a "final solution of the Jewish question" (*Endlösung der Judenfrage*). *But* this solution was a territorial one (*eine territoriale Endlösung der Judenfrage*), and not a murderous one. It was a project to induce or, if necessary, to force the Jews to leave Germany and its European sphere of influence, thereafter to establish, in accord with the Zionists, a Jewish national home, in Madagascar or elsewhere. With a view toward such a solution, many Zionists collaborated with National Socialist Germany.[7]

It is accurate to say that a gathering of German officials was held at a villa in Wannsee, on the outskirts of Berlin, on January 20, 1942, to discuss the Jewish question. *But* the subject of their discussions was the forced emigration or deportation of the Jews, as well as the future creation of a specific Jewish territorial entity, not a program of physical extermination.

It is accurate to say that some German concentration camps had crematories to incinerate corpses. But their purpose was to combat epidemics, not to incinerate, as some have dared assert, living human beings along with corpses.[8]

It is accurate to say that many Jews experienced the hardships of war, of internment, deportation, the detention camps, the concentration camps, the forced labor camps, the ghettos; that there were, for various reasons, summary executions of Jews, that they were the victims of reprisals and even massacres (for there are no wars without massacres). *But* it is equally true that all of these sufferings were also the lot of many other nations or communities during the war and, in particular, of the Germans and their allies (the hardships of the ghetto aside, for the ghetto is first and foremost a specific creation of the Jews themselves).[9] It is above all most plausible, for anyone who is not afflicted with a hemiplegic memory, and who seeks to acquaint himself with both sides of Second World War history (that is, the side that is always shown, as well as the side almost always hidden), that the sufferings of the vanquished during the war *and afterwards* were, in number and in nature, greater than those of the Jews and the victors, especially as concerns deportations.

It is false that there ever existed, as some have long dared to assert, any order whatever, given by Hitler or any of his associates, to exterminate the Jews. During the war, German soldiers and officers were convicted by their own courts martial, and sometimes shot, for having killed Jews.

It is a good thing that the exterminationists (that is, those who believe in the extermination of the Jews) have grown weary to the point that they now acknowledge that no trace of any plan, instruction, or document relating to a policy of physical extermination of the Jews has ever been found and that, similarly, they have at last admitted that no trace of any budget for such an undertaking, or of a body responsible for running such a project, has been found.

It is a good thing that the exterminationists have at last conceded to the revisionists that the judges at the Nuremberg trial (1945-1946) accepted as true certain pure inventions, such as the stories of soap produced from Jewish fat, of lampshades made of human skin, of "shrunken heads," and of homicidal gassings at Dachau.

It is an *especially good thing* that the exterminationists have finally recognized that the most spectacular, the most terrifying, the most significant part of that trial — that is, the session of April 15, 1946, in the course of which a former commandant of the Auschwitz camp, Rudolf Höss, testified openly that, in his camp, millions of Jews had been gassed — was merely the product of the tortures inflicted on him. His "confession," presented for so many years and in so many historical works as the Number One "proof" of the genocide of the Jews, is now consigned to oblivion, at least as far as historians are concerned.[10]

It is fortunate that exterminationist historians have finally acknowledged that the famous testi-

mony of SS officer Kurt Gerstein, an essential element of their case, is devoid of value. *It is loathsome* that the French University revoked the revisionist Henri Roque's doctorate, earned for having demonstrated that fact in 1985.[11]

It is pitiful that Raul Hilberg, the "pope" of exterminationism, ventured to write, in the first, 1961 edition of his study, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, that there were two orders by Hitler to exterminate the Jews, and then later to declare, in 1983, that the extermination had come about on its own, without any order or plan, but rather through "an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus — mind reading by a far-flung [German] bureaucracy." So it was that Hilberg replaced a gratuitous assertion with a magical explanation: telepathy.[12]

It is a good thing that the exterminationists have, in effect, finally (or very nearly) abandoned the charge, based on "testimonies," according to which there were execution gas chambers at the camps of Ravensbrück, Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen, Mauthausen, Hartheim, Struthof-Natzweiler, Stutthof-Danzig, Bergen-Belsen ...[13]

It is a good thing that the most-visited "gas chamber" in the world — that of Auschwitz I — has at last (in a January 1995 article) been recognized for what it is — a fabrication. It is fortunate that it has at last been admitted that "*Everything in it is false*." I personally delight in knowing that an Establishment historian has written: "In the late 1970s, Robert Faurisson exploited these falsifications all the better as the [Auschwitz] museum administration balked at acknowledging them."[14] I delight all the more given that the French courts, in their iniquity, convicted me for basically saying just that.

It is a good thing that, in that same 1995 article, this same historian revealed that such a figure in the Jewish world as eminent as Théo Klein sees in that "gas chamber" only a "trick" ("*artifice*").

It is also a good thing that, in that same article, this same historian revealed, first, that the Auschwitz Museum authorities are conscious of having deceived millions of visitors (500,000 yearly in the early 1990s), and second, that they will nevertheless continue to deceive their visitors, for, as the Museum's assistant director put it: "[Telling the truth about this 'gas chamber'] is too complicated. We'll see to it later on."[15]

It is fortunate that in 1996 two historians of Jewish origin, the Canadian Robert Jan van Pelt and the American Debórah Dwork, finally denounced some of the enormous fakeries of the Auschwitz camp-museum, and the cynicism with which visitors were being duped there.[16]

It is, on the other hand, unconscionable that UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) should maintain its patronage (as it has done since 1979) of a site such as Auschwitz, whose center upholds, in its fake "gas chamber" (to say nothing of other enormous falsifications), an imposture now avowed as such. UNESCO (based in Paris and headed by Federico Mayor) has no right to use the dues of the member countries to sanction such a vast swindle, one so incompatible with the interests of "education," "science," and "culture."

It is fortunate that Jean-Claude Pressac, after having been praised to the skies, has fallen into discredit. Promoted by the Klarsfeld couple, this French pharmacist thought it wise to stake out a half-way position between those who believed in the gas chambers and those who did not. For him, in a sense, the woman in question was neither pregnant nor unpregnant, but rather half-pregnant and even, with time, less and less pregnant. An author of writings that were supposed to be about the Nazi gas chambers, but in which not one comprehensive photograph or drawing of a single one of those chemical slaughterhouses was to be found, this pitiful scribbler would, in a Paris court on May 9, 1995, go on to give a demonstration of his total inability to reply to the presiding judge's questions as to what, concretely, such a mass murder machine might actually have been.[17]

It is fortunate that, although in ruins, "the gas chamber" of *Krematorium* II in Birkenau (Auschwitz II), plainly shows that there never was a "Holocaust" in this camp. According both to a German defendant's statements under interrogation, as well as 1944 aerial photographs "retouched" by the Allies, the roof of this gas chamber seems to have had four special openings (about ten inches square, it was specified), through which Zyklon was poured in. But as anyone at the site can observe for himself, none of those four openings ever existed. Given that Auschwitz is the capital of the "Holocaust," and that this ruined crematory is at the core of the alleged extermination process of the Jews at Auschwitz, in 1994 I said (and this phrase seems since to have caught on): "*No holes, no 'Holocaust'*."

It is equally fortunate that a plethora of "testimonies" that supposedly confirm these homicidal gassings have thus been invalidated. By the same token, it is *extremely deplorable* that so many Germans were tried and convicted by their victorious adversaries for crimes they could not have committed, some even being put to death.

It is a good thing that, in the light of trials resembling so many judicial masquerades, the exterminationists themselves voice doubts as to the validity of numerous testimonies. The defective nature of these testimonies would have been much more obvious if one had taken the trouble to carry

out a expert examination of the *supposed* weapon of the *alleged* crime. But in the course of hundreds of trials concerning Auschwitz or other camps, no court ordered any such inquiry. (The one exception, very little known, was carried out at Struthof-Natzweiler in Alsace, the results of which were kept hidden until I revealed them.) It was nonetheless known that a good number of testimonies or confessions needed to be verified and checked against the material facts and that, in the absence of those two conditions, they were worthless as evidence.

It is fortunate that official history has revised downwards — often quite drastically — the supposed number of victims. It was only after more than 40 years of revisionist pressure that Jewish authorities and those of the Auschwitz State Museum removed the 19 plaques that, in 19 different languages, announced that the number of victims there had been four million. It then took five years of internal bickering for agreement to be reached on the new figure of one and a half million, a figure that, in turn, was very quickly challenged by exterminationist authors. Jean-Claude Pressac, Serge Klarsfeld's protégé, has more recently proposed a figure of 600,000 to 800,000 Jewish and non-Jewish victims during the entire period of the Auschwitz complex's existence.[18] It is a pity that this quest for the true figure is not followed through to reach the likely figure of 150,000 persons — most of them victims of epidemics — in the nearly 40 camps of the Auschwitz complex. *It is deplorable* that the film "Nuit et Brouillard" ("Night and Fog"), in which the Auschwitz death toll is put at nine million, continues to be shown in French schools. This film perpetuates the myths of "soap made from the bodies," or lampshades of human skin, and of scratches made by fingernails of dying victims on the concrete walls of the gas chambers. The film even proclaims that "nothing distinguished the gas chamber from an ordinary barracks"!

It was a good thing that Arno Mayer, a Princeton University professor of Jewish origin, wrote in 1988: "Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable."[19] But why was it affirmed for so many years that the sources were countless and trustworthy? And why was scorn poured on the revisionists who, since 1950, had written what Arno Mayer affirmed in 1988?

It was a particularly good thing that the French historian Jacques Baynac, who had made a specialty, in *Le Monde* and elsewhere, of labeling the revisionists as forgers, should finally acknowledge in 1996 that there was, after all, no evidence of the existence of homicidal gas chambers. It was, he made clear, "as painful to say as it is to hear."[20] Perhaps, for certain persons, and in certain circumstances, the truth is "as painful to say as it is to hear." For revisionists, though, the truth is as pleasant to say as it is to hear.

Lastly, it is fortunate that the exterminationists have allowed themselves to undermine the third and last element of the Shoah trinity: the figure of six million Jewish deaths.[21] It seems that this figure was first put forth by Rabbi Michael Dov Weissmandel (1903-1956). Based in Slovakia, this rabbi was the main inventor of the Auschwitz lie based on the alleged testimonies of Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzler. He organized intensive "information campaigns" aimed at the Allies, at Switzerland, and at the Vatican. In a letter of May 31, 1944 (that is, nearly a full year before the war's end in Europe), he did not shrink from writing: "Till now six times a million Jews from Europe and Russia have been destroyed."[22]

This six million figure was also published before the end of the war in the writings of the Soviet Jew Ilya Ehrenburg (1891-1967), perhaps the most hateful propagandist of the Second World War.[23] In 1979 the six million figure was suddenly termed "symbolic" (that is, false) by the exterminationist Martin Broszat during the trial of a German revisionist. In 1961, Raul Hilberg, that most prestigious of conventional historians, estimated the number of Jewish wartime deaths to have been 5.1 million. In 1953, another of those historians, Gerald Reitlinger, put forth a figure of between 4.2 and 4.6 million. In fact, though, no historian of that school has offered any figures based on the results of an investigation. It has always been a matter of each one's own more or less educated guess. The revisionist Paul Rassinier, for his part, proposed the figure of "about one million" Jewish deaths. As he pointed out, though, he did so on the basis of numbers furnished by the opposing side. His figure was thus also a product of guesswork.

The truth is that many European Jews perished, and many survived. With modern calculation methods it should be possible to determine what, in each case, is meant by "many." However, the three sources from which the necessary information might be obtained are, in practice, either forbidden to independent researchers or are accessible only with great limitation:

- First, the enormous body of documentation gathered by the International Tracing Service (ITS) of Arolsen-Waldeck, Germany, which is answerable to the International Committee of the Red Cross in Switzerland. Access to this center is very limited — closely guarded by a ten-nation board, of which Israel is a member.
- Second, documents held in Poland and Russia, including death registries of certain camps, cremation registries, and so forth. Only a portion of these documents is accessible.

• Finally, the names of the millions of Jewish survivors — in Israel or in dozens of countries represented by the World Jewish Congress in New York — who have received, or are still receiving, financial indemnities or reparations. Merely listing these names would show the extent to which communities that so often have been said to be "exterminated" in fact were not at all exterminated.

Even 52 years after the end of the war, the State of Israel put the official number of "Holocaust" "survivors" around the world at some 900,000. (More precisely, it gave figures of between 834,000 and 960,000.)[24] According to a computation made by the Swedish statistician Carl O. Nordling, to whom I submitted that Israeli government evaluation, it is possible, postulating the existence of 900,000 "survivors" in 1997, to conclude that there were, at the end of the war in Europe in 1945, slightly more than three million "survivors." Even today, a diverse range of organizations or associations of "survivors" flourish around the world. These include associations of veteran Jewish "résistants," of former children of Auschwitz (that is, Jewish children born in that camp or interned there with their parents at a very early age), of former Jewish forced laborers, and, more simply, formerly clandestine Jews or Jewish fugitives. Millions of beneficiaries of "miracles" no longer constitute a "miracle," but are rather the result of a natural phenomenon. The American press has reported fairly often on moving reunions of family members, "Holocaust" survivors all, each of whom, we are assured, was at one time convinced that his or her "entire family" had been lost.

To sum up, in spite of the dogma and the laws, the pursuit of the historical truth about the Second World War in general, and about the Shoah in particular, has made headway in recent years, but the general public is kept in the dark about this. It would be stunned to learn that, since the early 1980s, establishment historians have relegated many of the most firmly held popular beliefs to the rank of legend. From this point of view, one can say that there are two levels of "the Holocaust": on the one hand, that of the public at large and, on the other, that of the conformist historians. The first seems to be unshakable, while the second (to judge by the number of hasty repairs being made to it), seems on the verge of collapse.

Year by year (and especially since 1979), the concessions made to the revisionists by the "orthodox" historians have been so numerous and of such quality that today the latter find themselves at a dead end. No longer having anything of substance to say about the "Holocaust," they have handed the baton to the filmmakers, novelists, and theater people. Even the museum people are at a loss. At the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, the "decision" has been made not to offer for public viewing "any physical representation of the gas chambers." (This is according to a statement made to me, and in the presence of four witnesses in August 1994, by the Museum's Research Director, Michael Berenbaum. He is the author of a guide book of more than 200 pages in which, in effect, no physical representation of gas chambers appears, not even one of the miserable and fallacious mock-up on display for Museum visitors.)[25] The public is forbidden to take photographs there. Claude Lanzmann, maker of "Shoah," a film remarkable for its utter lack of historical or scientific content, today no longer has any recourse but to pontificate in deploring the fact that "the revisionists occupy the whole terrain."[26] As for Elie Wiesel, he calls on everyone to show discretion. He requests that we no longer try to closely examine, or even to imagine what happened in the gas chambers: "Let the gas chambers remain closed to prying eyes, and to imagination."[27] The "Holocaust" historians have turned into theoreticians, philosophers, and "thinkers." The squabbles among them, between "intentionalists" and "functionalists," or between supporters and adversaries of a thesis such as Daniel Goldhagen's on the near-innate propensity of Germans to descend into anti-Semitism and racist crime, ought not to conceal from view the poverty of their historical work.

Revisionism's Successes and Failures

In 1998, an appraisal of the revisionist enterprise could be briefly put as follows: a sparkling success on the historical and scholarly front (where our opponents capitulated in 1996), but a failure on the public relations front. (Our adversaries have closed off all access to the media except, for the time being, the Internet.)

In the 1980s and early 1990s, anti-revisionist authors attempted to cross swords with the revisionists on the field of historical scholarship. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Nadine Fresco, Georges Wellers, Adalbert Rückerl, Hermann Langbein, Eugen Kogon, Arno Mayer, and Serge Klarsfeld, each in turn tried to persuade the media that answers had been found to the revisionists' material or documentary arguments. Even Michael Berenbaum, even the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, in 1993 and in early 1994, wanted to pick up the gauntlet I had thrown down, and try to show just a single Nazi gas chamber, just a single proof — of their own choosing — that there had been a genocide of the Jews. But their failures were so stinging that thereafter they abandoned, ever more progressively, the fight on that turf. More recently, in 1998, appeared a thick book by Michael Berenbaum (together with Abraham J. Peck) entitled *The Holocaust and History*.[28] But far from examining, on the level of historical

scholarship, what the authors call the "Holocaust," instead they unintentionally show that the "Holocaust" is one thing, and "History" quite another. The work, moreover, is quasi-immaterial, presenting neither photographs, nor drawings, nor the least attempt to represent physically any reality whatever. Only the dust jacket offers a view of a heap of shoes. Reputedly possessing a certain graphic eloquence, at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum they supposedly tell us: "We are the shoes, we are the last witnesses." This book is merely a compilation of 55 contributions written and published under the watchful eye of Rabbi Berenbaum: in it even Raul Hilberg, even Yehuda Bauer, even Franciszek Piper, abandon any real effort at scholarly research, while at the same time anathema is pronounced against Arno Mayer who, in his 1988 study, tried to put the "Holocaust" back into the realm of history.[29] The irrational has prevailed against attempts at rationalization. Elie Wiesel, Claude Lanzmann, and Steven Spielberg (in his film, "Schindler's List," inspired by a novel), have in the end triumphed over those in their own camp who once tried to prove the "Holocaust."

In future years it will be seen in hindsight that in September 1996 the death knell sounded for the hopes of those who wanted to combat revisionism on historical and scholarly grounds. The two long articles in a Swiss daily paper written by the anti-revisionist historian Jacques Baynac definitively closed the book on attempts at a rational response to revisionist arguments.

In the mid- and late 1970s, I offered my own contribution to the development of revisionism. I discovered and formulated what has since come to be known as the physical and chemical argument, that is, the physical and chemical reasons why the alleged Nazi gas chambers were quite simply inconceivable. At the time, I commended myself for having presented to the world a decisive argument that had never before been expounded either by a German chemist or an American engineer. (Germany is not short of chemists, and the United States has engineers who, given the forbidding complexities involved in making and operating an American penitentiary gas chamber, ought to have realized that, because of certain physical and chemical realities, the alleged Nazi gas chambers could not possibly have operated as claimed.)

If, during that period, amidst the fracas prompted by my discovery, a clairvoyant had predicted that, 20 years later, my adversaries, after many attempts to show that I was wrong, would (as Baynac did in 1996) resign themselves to acknowledging that, after all, there existed not the least evidence with which to prove the reality of a single Nazi gas chamber, I certainly would have rejoiced. I might have also concluded that the myth of the "Holocaust" could never survive such a direct hit, that the media would then quit propagating the Great Lie and that, quite naturally, the legal repression of revisionists would end by itself.

In so reckoning I would have committed an error both of diagnosis and of prognosis.

For the spirit of superstitious belief is different than that of science. It makes its own way in the world. The realm of religion, of ideology, of illusion, of the media, and of fictional cinema can develop at a certain remove from scientific realities. Even Voltaire never succeeded in "crushing the vile foe." One may therefore say that, like Voltaire denouncing the absurdities of the Hebraic tales, the revisionists — in spite of the scholarly character of their work — are doomed never to carry the day against the wild imaginings of the Synagogue, while the Synagogue, for its part, will never succeed in stifling the voices of the revisionists. The "Holocaust" and "Shoah business" propaganda will continue to flourish. It still remains for revisionists to show how this belief, this myth was born, grew and flourished before, perhaps, one day disappearing to make way, not for reason but for other beliefs and other myths.

How are men deceived, and why do they deceive themselves so readily?

'Holocaust' Propaganda

The masses are most easily fooled through manipulation of images. With the liberation of the German concentration camps in April 1945, British and American journalists rushed to photograph and film true horrors that were then, one may say, made into truer than life horrors. In the language dear to media people, the public was presented with a "put-up" job.[30] On the one hand, we were shown real dead bodies as well as real crematories, and, on the other hand, thanks to some misleading comments and a cinematic staging, a deft artifice was effected. I describe this fraud with a phrase that may serve to help unmask all such impostures: We were led to take the *dead* for *killed*, and *crematories* for execution *gas chambers*.

Thus was born the confusion, still so widespread today, between, on the one hand, the crematories, which actually existed (but not at Bergen-Belsen) for the incineration of corpses and, on the other hand, the Nazi gas chambers allegedly used to kill whole crowds of men and women, but which, in reality, never existed nor could have existed.

The myth of the Nazi gas chambers and their association with the crematories originated, in its *media* form, in the press and newsreel photographs and media commentary from the Bergen-Belsen camp — which, orthodox historians now admit, possessed neither mass-execution gas chambers nor even simple crematories.

'Gas Chambers' That Have Never Been Seen or Shown

At a news conference in Stockholm in March 1992, I issued a challenge to the audience of newspaper and television reporters. That challenge was made in the nine words: "Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber."

The next day, the journalists' reports on the news conference indeed appeared, but they passed over in silence its essential object: precisely that challenge. They had looked for photographs and had found none.

Billions of people over this past half-century assume (or imagine) that they have seen images of Nazi gas chambers in books or in documentary films. Many are convinced that, at least once in their lives, they've come across a photograph of a Nazi gas chamber. Some have visited Auschwitz or another camp where guides told them that this or that structure was a gas chamber. Such visitors are told that before their eyes is (as the case may be) a gas chamber "in its original state" or "a reconstruction" of an original gas chamber. (This latter expression implies that the "reconstruction" is faithful, that it conforms to the "original.") Sometimes visitors are shown remains of what they are told are "ruins of a gas chamber."[31] Yet, in all such cases, they have been deceived or, better, have deceived themselves. This phenomenon is easily explained.

Many people imagine that a homicidal gas chamber is merely a room with poison gas inside. This reveals confusion between an execution gassing, and a suicidal or accidental one. An execution gassing, such as those of individuals in some United States prisons, is unavoidably a very complicated undertaking. In such a case, care must be taken to kill only the condemned prisoner without causing an accident, and without putting one's own life, or that of one's associates, in danger, especially in the final phase, that is, when the chamber must be entered to remove the contaminated corpse. Most "Holocaust" museum visitors, readers, film-goers, and even most historians, are obviously unaware of any of this. Those in charge of "Holocaust" museums exploit this lack of awareness. For an effective Nazi gas chamber exhibit, they need only show the credulous public a gloomy space or room, a cold morgue room, a shower room (preferably located below ground), or an air raid shelter (with a peephole in its door), and the trick will work. The tricksters can manage with even less that this: it's enough merely to show a door, a wall, or a roof of a purported "gas chamber." The most clever ones will get by with just a bundle of hair, a pile of shoes, or a heap of eyeglasses, while claiming that these are the only traces or remains left of the "gassed" victims. Naturally, they will refrain from mentioning that, during the war and the blockade, in a Europe beset with general shortages and penury, vast "recovery" and "recycling" programs were organized to reclaim all recoverable materials, including hair, which was used, for example, in textile products.

The 'Holocaust' Witnesses: Unverified Testimonies

A similar confusion reigns with respect to the witnesses. We are presented with bands of witnesses to the genocide of the Jews. Whether orally or in writing, these witnesses claim to assert that Germany carried out a plan for the overall extermination of the Jews of Europe. In reality, these witnesses can truthfully attest only to such facts as the Jews' deportation, their internment in detention camps, concentration camps or forced labor camps, and even, in some cases, the functioning of crematories. The Jews were to so great a degree *not* doomed to extermination, or to end up in mass-execution gas chambers, that each one of these countless survivors or escapees, far from constituting, as some would have us believe, a "living proof of the genocide," is, on the contrary, a living proof that there was no genocide. As has been seen above, at war's end the number of Jewish "survivors" of the "Holocaust" probably exceeded three million.

For Auschwitz alone, a lengthy list may be made of former Jewish inmates who have borne witness — in public, orally or in writing, on television, in books, in the law courts — to "the extermination of the Jews" in the camp.[32]

I shall also mention the resounding case of a late arrival — the Swiss clarinettist Binjamin Wilkomirski. It is not clear why, but this false witness was publicly exposed after a three-year spell of glory during which he was honored with the US National Jewish Book Award, the Jewish Quarterly Literary Prize in Britain, the Mémoire de la Shoah prize in France, and an impressive series of dithyrambic articles in the press worldwide. His purported autobiography, in which he relates being deported as a child to Majdanek and to Auschwitz (?), was originally published in Germany in 1995. It appeared in English under the title *Fragments: Memories of a Wartime Childhood*.[33] Jewish author Daniel Ganzfried concluded, on the basis of his investigation, that Binjamin Wilkomirski, alias Bruno Doesseker, born Bruno Grosjean, indeed had some experience of Auschwitz and Majdanek, but only after the war, as a tourist.[34] In 1995 the Australian Donald Watt successfully deceived much of the English-language media with a memoir that told of his alleged life as a crematory "stoker" at Auschwitz-Birkenau.[35] Between September and November 1998, a vast media operation was organized in Germany and France based on the sudden "revelations" of Dr. Hans-Wilhelm Münch, one-time SS physician

at Auschwitz. The vein is decidedly bountiful.

Primo Levi is still generally treated as a reliable witness. While this reputation was perhaps deserved in 1947, with the publication of his book *Se questo è un uomo* (published in the US under the title *Survival in Auschwitz*), Levi later conducted himself rather unworthily. Elie Wiesel remains the undisputed "star false witness" of the "Holocaust." In his autobiographical account *Night* he does not mention "gas chambers." For him, the Germans threw Jews into blazing pits. (As recently as June 2, 1987, he testified under oath at the Klaus Barbie trial in Lyon that he had "seen, in a little wood, somewhere in [Auschwitz] Birkenau, SS men throwing live children into the flames." (The translator and editor of the German version of *Night* resuscitated the "gas chambers" in Wiesel's account of Auschwitz. In France, Fred Sedel in 1990 similarly proceeded in re-editing a book that had appeared in 1963, putting "*chambres à gaz*" ["gas chamber"] where, 27 years earlier, he had mentioned only "*fours crématoires*" ["crematory ovens"].)[36]

In this same boat of "pious lies" one may also include the testimonies of some non-Jews, in particular that of General André Rogerie. In the original 1946 edition of his memoir, *Vivre, c'est vaincre*, he wrote only of having *heard talk* of "gas chambers." But fortified by support from Georges Wellers, he presented himself in 1988 as a "Holocaust witness" who had "beheld the Shoah at Birkenau."[37] As he himself has related, his lot as a prisoner in the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp was a privileged one. He lodged in the barracks of the "bosses" and enjoyed a "royally cushy position" of which he "has fond remembrances." He ate pancakes with jam and played bridge. Of course, he wrote, "not only merry events take place [in the camp]." Still, upon leaving Birkenau he had this thought: "Unlike many others, I have been better off here than anywhere else."[38]

Samuel Gringauz got through the war in the ghetto of Kaunas, Lithuania. In 1950 — that is, at a time when it was still possible to speak somewhat freely on the subject — he gave an appraisal of the literature thus far produced by the survivors of the "great Jewish catastrophe." Deploring the trespasses to which their "hyper-historical complex" was then giving rise, he wrote:[39]

> The hyper-historical complex may be described as judeocentric, lococentric and egocentric. It

Testimony of an Auschwitz Gas Chamber 'Survivor'

I am 28 years of age and was arrested on 19th May 1941, at Lublin. I was arrested because I was a Jewess ... I was taken to Auschwitz in company with other Jews who were said to be partisans. On arrival I was made to have a bath and had my hair cut off and was then placed in quarantine for six weeks.

At Auschwitz, on 24th December 1942, I was paraded in company with about 19,000 other prisoners, all of them women. I was one of the 3,000 prisoners picked out of the 19,000 by the doctors and taken to our huts, where we were stripped naked by other prisoners and our clothes taken away. We were then taken by tipper-type lorries to the gas chamber chute. They were large lorries, about eight in all and about 300 persons in each lorry.

On arrival at the gas chamber the lorry tipped up and we slid down the chute through some doors into a large room. The room had showers all round, towels and soap and large numbers of benches. There were also small windows high up near the roof. Many were injured coming down the chute and lay where they fell. Those of us who could sat down on the benches provided and immediately afterwards the doors of the room were closed. My eyes then began to water, I started coughing and had a pain in my chest and throat. Some of the other people fell down and others coughed and foamed at the mouth. After being the room for about two minutes the door was opened and an SS man came in wearing a respirator. He called my name and then pulled me out of the room and quickly shut the door again. When I got outside I saw SS man Franz Hoessler ...

He took me to hospital, where I stayed for about six weeks, receiving special treatment from Dr. Mengele. For the first few days I was at the hospital I found it impossible to eat anything without vomiting. I can only think I was taken out of the gas chamber because I had an Aryan husband and therefore was in a different category from the other prisoners, who were all Jews ...

After recovering I worked in the kitchen at Auschwitz ... I left Auschwitz in November 1944 and went to Breslau, where I stayed for three months, working in a munitions factory. After leaving there I went to various places, working in similar factories until I came to Belsen in March 1945 ...

I was told that there were altogether seven gas chambers at Auschwitz, each with a crematorium attached.

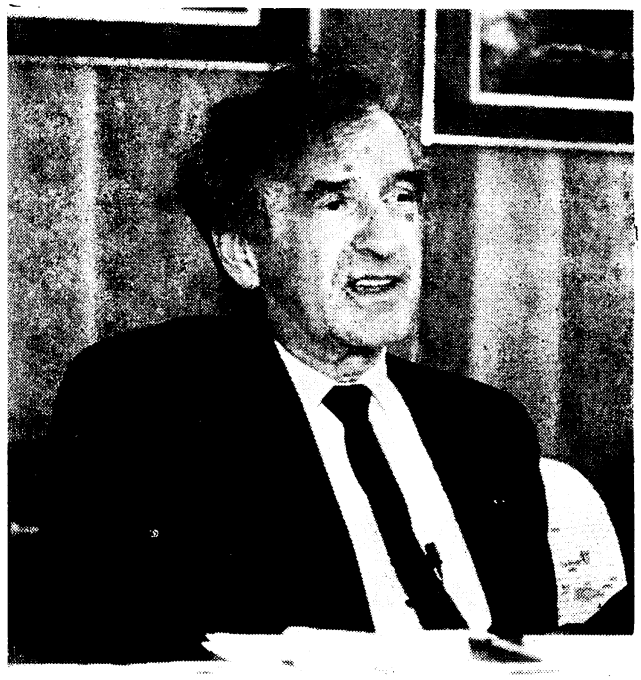
— From the deposition of Sophia Litwinksa, submitted as prosecution evidence in the British military court trial at Lüneburg, Sept.-Nov. 1945, of former Bergen-Belsen and Auschwitz camp personnel. Litwinska also testified in the trial. Her deposition and testimony are published in: Raymond Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)*, (London: William Hodge, 1949), pp. 79-84, 745-746.

> concentrates historical relevance on Jewish problems of local events under the aspect of personal experience. This is the reason why most of the memoirs and reports are full of preposterous verbosity, graphomanic exaggeration, dramatic effects, overestimated self-inflation, dilletante [sic] philosophizing, would-be lyricism, unchecked rumors, bias, partisan attacks and apologies.

One can only assent to this judgment, which could perfectly well apply today to a Claude Lanzmann or an Elie Wiesel. For the latter's "hyper-historical complex," for the "judeocentric, lococentric and egocentric" character of his writings, one may refer to Wiesel's two recent volumes of memoirs, published in the US under the titles *All Rivers Run to the Sea*, and, *And the Sea is Never Full*. In so doing, one may also realize that, far from having been exterminated, a great many of the members of the Jewish community of the little Romanian-Hungarian town of Sighet in all likelihood survived deportation, notably to Auschwitz in May and June of 1944, and internment. Himself a native of Sighet, Wiesel endured the fate of his fellow townspeople. In journeys to various places around the world after the war, he came upon an amazing number of relatives, friends, old acquaintances, and others from Sighet who, thanks to a succession of "miracles," had survived Auschwitz or the "Holocaust."

Some Other Second World War Fables

Just as perplexed as today's generation, those of the future will ask themselves identical questions about a number of Second World War myths besides that of the Nazi gas chambers: in addition to the stories already mentioned of "Jewish soap," tanned human skins, "shrunken heads," and "gas vans," one may also cite the stories of the insane medical experiments attributed to Dr. Mengele, Adolf Hitler's orders to exterminate the Jews, Heinrich Himmler's order to halt said extermination, and the mass killings of Jews by electricity, steam, quicklime, crematories, burning pits, and vacuum pumps. Let us also cite the purported exterminations of Gypsies and homosexuals, and the alleged gassings of the mentally ill. Future generations will also wonder about many other subjects: the massacres on the Eastern front as related in certain writings, and in writing only, at the Nuremberg trial by the professional false witness Hermann Gräbe; such now-acknowledged impostures as the book supposedly by Hermann Rauschning, which in fact was written chiefly by the Hungarian Jew Imre Révész, alias Emery Reves, but used extensively at the Nuremberg trial as though it were authentic;[40] the mass killing of Jews near Auschwitz with an experimental atomic bomb, a claim also brought up at the Nuremberg trial;[41] the absurd "confessions" extorted from German prisoners; the reputed diary of Anne Frank; the young boy in the Warsaw ghetto shown as going to his death, whereas he most likely emigrated to New York after the war;[42] along with various false memoirs, false stories, false testimonies, and false attributions, the true natures of which would, with a minimum of effort, have been easy to ascertain.



Elie Wiesel

But those future generations will probably be astonished most of all by the myth that was instituted and hallowed by the Nuremberg trial (and, to a lesser degree, by the Tokyo trial): that of the intrinsic barbarity of the vanquished and the intrinsic virtue of the victors who, as becomes apparent upon a close look at the facts, themselves committed acts of horror that were far more striking, both in quantity and in quality, than those perpetrated by the vanquished.

A Universal Butchery

At a time when one might be led to believe that only the Jews really suffered during the Second World War, and that only the Germans behaved like veritable criminals, an impartial examination into the true sufferings of all peoples and the real crimes of all belligerents seems overdue.

Whether "just" or "unjust," every war is a butchery — indeed, notwithstanding the heroism of countless soldiers, a competition in butchery. At the end of it, the winner turns out to have been nothing

The German defendants at the "International Military Tribunal," which met November 1945 to October 1946 in Nuremberg. Here Alfred Jodl, standing, delivers his final plea to the Tribunal.

more than a good butcher, and the loser a bad butcher. So when hostilities have ceased, the victor may perhaps be entitled to give the vanquished a lesson in butchery, but certainly not in Right and Justice. Yet that is just what happened in the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, when the four big winners, acting in their own names and in the name of the 19 victorious entities (not counting the World Jewish Congress, which enjoyed the status of *amicus curiae* or "friend of the court"), had the cynicism to inflict such a treatment on a beaten nation reduced to total impotence.

According to Nahum Goldmann, President of both the World Jewish Congress and the World Zionist Organization, the idea of such a trial was the brainchild of a few Jews.[43] As for the role played by Jews in the actual proceedings at Nuremberg, it was considerable. The American delegation, which ran the entire business, was made up largely of "re-emigrants," that is, of Jews who migrated in the 1930s from Germany to America, and then returned to Germany after the war. Gustave M. Gilbert, the famous psychologist and author of *Nuremberg Diary* (1947), was a Jew who, working behind the scenes with the American prosecutors, did not miss the chance to practice psychological torture on the German defendants. Airey Neave, a member of the British delegation, remarked, in a book prefaced by Lord Justice Birkett, one of the panel of judges, that many of the American examiners were German-born, and all were Jewish.[44]

For reasons I deal with in detail in my *Écrits révisionnistes* collection, the Nuremberg trial can be regarded as this century's crime of all crimes. Its consequences have proven tragic. It accorded the status of truth to an extravagant volume of lies, calumnies, and injustices that over the years have served to justify all kinds of wickedness: in particular Bolshevik and Zionist expansionism at the expense of nations in Europe and Asia, and of Palestine. Given, however, that the Nuremberg judges found Germany guilty, first and foremost, of having unilaterally plotted and instigated the Second World War, we must begin by first examining this point.

Four Giants and Three Dwarfs: Who Wanted War?

Because history is primarily a matter of geography, let us consider a desktop globe of the year 1939 on whose surface a single color would cover four immense aggregates: Great Britain and her empire of a fifth of the Earth, and upon which "the sun never set," France and her own vast colonial empire, the United States and its vassals, and, finally, the impressive empire of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Then, another color would mark the modest Germany within her pre-war borders, the meager Italy and her little colonial empire, and finally Japan, whose armies at the time occupied territory in China. (We shall not consider here the countries that were later to join the ranks, at least provisionally, of one or the other of these two belligerent blocs.)

The contrast between the geographical areas covered by these two groups is striking, as is the contrast between their natural, industrial, and commercial resources. Of course, by the end of the 1930s, Germany and Japan were starting — as the postwar years further proved — to shake off their yokes, and to build an economy and an army capable of disquieting the bigger and stronger powers. And, of course, the Germans and the Japanese, during the first years of the war, deployed an uncom-

mon measure of energy and succeeded in carving out their short-lived empires. But, all things considered, Germany, Italy, and Japan were mere dwarfs, so to speak, beside the four giants that were the British, French, American, and Soviet empires.

Who today can seriously believe — as was maintained at the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials — that during the late 1930s these three dwarfs deliberately sought to provoke a new world war? Better still: who today can believe for an instant that, during the general slaughter that ensued, the first of these three dwarfs (Germany) was guilty of every imaginable crime, while the next (Japan) came a distant second, and the third (Italy), which changed sides in September 1943, committed no really reprehensible acts? Who today can accept the notion that the four giants did not, to use the Nuremberg terminology, commit any "crimes against peace," any "war crimes," or any "crimes against humanity" that, after 1945, would have warranted judgment by an international tribunal?

It is nevertheless easy to show, with solid proof, that the winners, in six years of war and in a few years afterwards, accumulated, in their massacres of prisoners of war and of civilians, in massive deportations, in systematic looting, and in summary or "judicial" executions, more horrors than the losers. Katyn forest, the Gulag, Dresden, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, the expulsion, under horrible conditions, of 12 to 15 million Germans (from East Prussia, Pomerania, Silesia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, and Yugoslavia), the handing over of millions of Europeans to the Soviet moloch, the bloodiest purge ever to sweep the continent: was all of that really too small a matter for review by an international tribunal? During this past century, no military force has killed as many children — in Europe, Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Iraq, and Central America — as the US air force. And yet no international authority has held it to account for these slaughters, which the "boys" have always been ready to carry out anywhere in the world, for such is their "job."[45]

Did the French Want War?

"Cursed be war!" reads the inscription on the war memorial in the small French town of Gentioux. In the town of Saint-Martin-d'Estréaux, the inscription on the memorial is lengthier, but its "assessment" of the war sends forth the same cry.[46] The lists, in churches and on monuments throughout France, of the dead from the 1914-1918 war are heart-rending. Today no one is really able to say for just what reason the youth of France (just as, on its side, the youth of Germany) were thus mown down.

On some of these same memorials in our towns and villages one can also find, though in markedly smaller numbers, the names of young Frenchmen killed or missing during the campaign of 1939-1940: about 87,000 altogether. Occasionally one also finds lists of civilian victims. During the war years, the British and Americans alone killed some 67,000 in their air attacks on France. Occasionally, to round out the list, one can sometimes find the names of a few Résistance members who died in their beds well after the war. Almost never can one find the names of French victims of the "Great Purge" of 1944-1947 — probably 14,000, and not 30,000 or, as is sometimes claimed, 105,000 — in which Jews, Communists, and last-minute Gaullists played an essential role. With rare exceptions the names of the colonial troops who "died for France" are also missing, because they were not natives of the French towns.

For France, the two world wars constituted a disaster: the first, especially because of the sheer volume of human losses, and the second because of its character as a civil war that has persisted to this day.

When reflecting on these lists of First World War dead, including those "missing in action," when remembering the whole battalions of men who survived with ruined faces, of those wounded, maimed, and crippled for life, when taking stock of the destructions of all sorts, when thinking of the families devastated by these losses, of the prisoners, of those "shot for desertion," of the suicides provoked by so much suffering, when remembering as well the 25 million deaths in America and Europe in 1918 from the epidemic of a viral illness wrongly called "Spanish influenza" (brought into France, at least in part, by American troops),[47] can one not understand the pre-1939-1945 pacifists and supporters of "Munich," as well as the Pétainists of 1940? What right today has anyone to speak blithely of "cowardice," either with regard to the Munich accords of September 29 and 30, 1938, or to the armistice signed at Rethondes in Picardy on June 22, 1940? Could the Frenchmen who, in the late 1930s, still bore the physical and emotional scars of the 1914-1918 holocaust (a veritable one), and its aftermath, consider it a moral obligation to hurl themselves straight into a new slaughter? And, after the signing of an armistice that, however harsh, was by no means shameful, where was the dishonor in seeking an understanding with the adversary, not in order to wage war but to make peace?

Did the Germans Want War?

"Hitler [was] born at Versailles": that sentence serves as the title of a work by the late Léon Degrelle.[48] The 1919 Versailles *Diktat* — for it was not really a treaty — was so harsh and dishonorable for the defeated nation that the American Senate

refused to recognize or adopt it (November 20, 1919). And in the years that followed, it was ever more discredited. It dismembered Germany, submitted it to a cruel military occupation, and starved it. In particular, it obliged the defeated nation to cede to the newly created state of Poland the regions of Posen, Upper Silesia, and part of West Prussia. The 440 articles of the "Treaty of Peace Between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany" (together with its annexes) signed at Versailles on June 28, 1919, constituted, along with the related treaties (Trianon, Saint-Germain, Sèvres), a monumental iniquity which, if anything, only the fury of a recently ended war can explain. As one French writer has put it: "It is easy enough to find fault with the Germans for not having respected Versailles. Their duty of honor as Germans was, first, to get round it, and then to tear it up, just as that of the French was to maintain it."[49]

Twenty years after that crushing humiliation, Hitler sought to recover some of the territory turned over to Poland, just as France, after its defeat in 1870, sought to recover Alsace and a part of Lorraine.

Unless he chooses to speak flippantly, no historian is in a position to state who in fact is mainly to blame for a worldwide conflict. It is thus wise not to ascribe to Hitler exclusive responsibility for the 1939-1945 war under the pretext that, on the 1st of September 1939, he went to war against Poland. On the other hand, the attempt to justify the entry into war of Britain and France, two days later, by their declarations of war against Germany on the basis of a pledge to come to the aid of Poland seems rather unfounded given that, two weeks later (September 17, 1939), the USSR invaded Poland and occupied a good part of its territory, without prompting any military reaction on the part of Britain or France.

Worldwide conflicts resemble tremendous natural disasters in that they cannot accurately be predicted, even if one can sometimes feel them coming. Only after the fact can they be explained, laboriously and, too often, affected by reserves of bad faith in the form of mutual accusations of negligence, blindness, ill will, or irresponsibility. All the same one can note that in Germany during the late 1930s, the pro-war camp, that is, those who urged military action against the western powers was, to all intents and purposes, non-existent. The Germans envisaged only a "push to the East" (*Drang nach Osten*). On the other hand, in Britain, France and the United States, the anti-German hawks were powerful. The "war party" wanted a "democratic crusade," and got it. Among these new crusaders figured, with a few noteworthy exceptions, the whole of American and European organized Jewry.

Churchill and the British as Masters of War Propaganda

During the First World War, the British cynically exploited all the resources of propaganda based on wholly fictitious atrocity stories.[50] During the Second World War they remained true to form.

Today people widely condemn Neville Chamberlain for his policy of "appeasement" in dealing with the Germans, whereas people hold, or pretend to hold, Winston Churchill in high esteem for his determination to carry on war against Germany. It is not yet certain that history, with time, will uphold this judgment. New discoveries concerning Churchill's personality and wartime role raise questions about the dubious justifications for that determination, along with questions about the fruits of his policies. At least Chamberlain had foreseen that even a British victory would entail disaster for his country, her empire, and for other victors as well. Churchill did not see this, or did not know how to see it. He promised "blood, toil, tears, and sweat," to be followed by victory. He did not anticipate the bitter morrow of victory: the hastened disappearance of the empire he held dear, and the handing over of nearly half of Europe to Communist imperialism.

During an address given several years ago, David Irving, Churchill's biographer, showed the illusory nature of the justifications given by Churchill, first, to launch his countrymen into the war, and then to keep them in it. The business, if one may so term it, was carried out in four phases.

In the initial phase, Churchill assured the British that it was their obligation to go to the aid of a Poland that had fallen victim to Hitler's aggression but, two weeks into the war, this motive was nullified by the Soviet Union's aggression against the same ally.

In the next phase, he explained to his countrymen that they must carry on the war in order to safeguard the British empire. He rejected Germany's repeated peace proposals, and in May 1941 he had the peace emissary Rudolf Hess incarcerated. Whereas Germany wanted to preserve and maintain the British empire, he chose to conclude an alliance with the empire's worst possible enemy: the American Franklin Roosevelt. Thus the second motive was then nullified.

In a third phase, Churchill told the British that they were duty-bound to fight for Democracy, including its most paradoxical variety: the Soviet Socialist. He held that a second European front must be opened to relieve the burden on Stalin. This of course meant aiding a dictatorship that had assaulted Poland on September 17, 1939, and which was preparing a new conquest of that country.

As late as one month before the end of hostilities in Europe (May 8, 1945), British propaganda was

generally lacking in coherence, while many British and American soldiers were appalled to learn the extent to which their bombers had ravaged Germany.

It was then that suddenly, in April 1945, there occurred a miracle that enabled Churchill to find his fourth, and really good motive: the discovery of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp prompted him to assert that, Britain's difficult fight over nearly six years, wreaking and enduring so much havoc, was for no less a cause than that of civilization itself. To be sure, on more than one occasion he had already spoken to his countrymen, in his customarily high-flown rhetoric, about Britain as the cradle of a civilization threatened by the Teutonic hordes (the "Huns," as he called them), but these oratorical devices no longer worked so well. The godsend was the discovery in April 1945 of a pestilence-ravaged camp: a boon for Churchill and for British propaganda.

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, American President Franklin Roosevelt and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin at the Yalta Conference in Soviet Crimea, February 1945.

At Bergen-Belsen, the British Introduce the 'Nazi Crime' Media Spectacle

Situated near Hannover, Bergen-Belsen was originally established as a camp for wounded soldiers. In 1943 it became a detention center for European Jews who were to be exchanged for German civilians held by the Allies. In the middle of the war, Jews were transferred from that camp to Switzerland or, by way of Turkey, even to Palestine (yet another proof, as may be pointed out in passing, of the absence of an extermination program).

Until the end of 1944, conditions for inmates at Bergen-Belsen were about normal: then, along with a convoy of deportees brought from regions in the East facing the imminent Soviet onslaught, there arrived epidemics of dysentery, cholera, and exanthematic typhus. The resulting disaster was aggravated by the Anglo-American bombing raids that severely hampered deliveries of medicine, food, and — most devastating of all — water. The rail transports of Jews from the East no longer took just two or three days to reach the camp, but rather one or two weeks. Because of Allied air bombardment and strafing, the trains could proceed only at night. As a result, the trains arrived containing only dead and dying, or exhausted men and women unfit to withstand such epidemics. On March 1st, 1945, camp commandant Josef Kramer sent a letter to General Richard Glücks, chief of concentration camp administration, in which he described this "catastrophe" in detail, concluding with the plea: "I implore your help in overcoming this situation."[51]

Germany, on its last legs, could no longer deal with the influx of its own eastern refugees arriving by the millions. It could no longer manage to supply its army with weapons and ammunition, or its population with food. Finally, it could no longer remedy the tragic conditions in camps where even guards were dying of typhus. Himmler authorized Wehrmacht officers to establish contact with the British to warn them that they were approaching, in their advance, a frightful den of infection. Negotiations followed. A wide truce area was declared around Bergen-Belsen, and British and German soldiers decided, by mutual consent, to share the task of camp surveillance.

But what they found in the camp, including barracks and tents flooded with excrement, and the unbearable odor of decomposing bodies, quickly had the British feeling indignant. They came to believe, or were allowed to believe, that the SS had deliberately chosen to kill the inmates or to let them die. And, despite their own best efforts, the British were unable to curb the terrible mortality rate.

Then, like a swarm of vultures, journalists swooped down on the camp, filming and photographing every possible horror. They also proceeded to arrange certain scenes of their own making: a famous one, shown for example in the film "Night and Fog," is that of a bulldozer pushing corpses into a large pit. Many viewers have been led to believe that they are seeing "German bulldozers."[52] They didn't notice that the bulldozer (just one) is driven by a British soldier who, doubtless after a body count, is pushing the corpses into a large trench that had been dug after the camp's liberation. The Jew Sydney Lewis Bernstein, London head of the Home Office cinema section, called on Alfred Hitchcock to make a film on these "Nazi atrocities." Hitchcock accepted, but, in the end, only fragments of his film were made public, probably because the complete version contained assertions that might cast doubt on its authenticity.[53]

On the whole, the "shock of Bergen-Belsen" was a great success for Allied propaganda. In every possible way, the media exploited it to show *dead* and

dying camp inmates to the world at large, but while at the same time leading viewers, through commentary, to think that these inmates had been *killed*, *murdered*, or *exterminated*, or else were walking corpses condemned to perish as victims of *killing*, *murder*, or *extermination*. Thus, on the basis of the ghastly conditions in a camp that, as already noted, had neither crematories nor (as conventional historians acknowledge) any homicidal gas chamber, was built the general myth of the existence and use, at Auschwitz and elsewhere, of "gas chambers" coupled with crematories.

Among the most famous casualties of epidemics in that camp were Anne Frank and her sister Margot who, for nearly 40 years, were widely and persistently said to have been gassed at Auschwitz (from where, in fact, they had been brought), or killed at Bergen-Belsen. Today, it is generally conceded that they died of typhus at Bergen-Belsen in February-March 1945.

The "shock of Bergen-Belsen" was very quickly imitated by the Americans who, turning to Hollywood, shot a series of motion pictures on the liberation of the German camps. After editing the extensive footage (6,000 feet of film, of a total of 80,000), they produced a film that was shown on November 29, 1945, at the Nuremberg trial. Everyone, including most of the defendants, found it quite disturbing. A few of the defendants sensed the deceit, but it was too late: the great lie's bulldozer had been set in motion. It is still running today. The viewers of all the many horror films on the "Nazi camps" have, over time, been conditioned by the choice of images and the commentary. A section of wall, a heap of shoes, a smokestack: it has taken no more than these for the public to believe that they have seen a chemical slaughterhouse.

Fifty-two years after the liberation of the Bergen-Belsen camp, Maurice Druon, *secrétaire perpétuel* of the *Académie française*, testified at the trial of Maurice Papon, accused of "collaboration" in the "Final Solution." Here is an extract of his deposition mentioning gas chambers at that camp (which, as all historians today acknowledge, had none), the famous bulldozer, and the "hair shorn from the dead to help make some ersatz or other":[54]

> When speaking today of the camps, one has in one's eyes, and the jurors present have in their eyes, those horrid images that the films and the screens offered and offer to us; and it is quite right to do so [that is, to show them], and they ought to be re-shown each year to every secondary school graduating class. But those images, of the gas chambers, of the mounds of hair shorn from the dead to help make some ersatz or other, of those children playing among the corpses, and of those bodies so great in number that they had to be pushed into a pit by a bulldozer, and of those troops of skeletons, staggering and haggard, in striped pajamas, with death in their eyes, those images, and I hereby bear witness, I was, in my modest capacity of information officer, one of the 20 Allied officers to "view" them first, when the uncut footage, as it is called, arrived just after the liberation of Bergen-Belsen by the English. But that was in the spring of 1945. Until then, no one knew. — We must not judge with our trained eyes [sic] of today, but with our blind eyes of yesterday.

Maurice Druon, in reality, had "trained eyes" yesterday and has "blind eyes" today. More than 50 years of propaganda have blinded him. But already during the war, were not he and his uncle Joseph Kessel, both Jewish, blinded by their hatred of the German soldiers when they wrote the atrocious "Partisans' Song," which includes the exhortation "Killers by bullet and by knife, kill quickly!"?

The Americans and the Soviets Outdo the British

In 1951, anyway, the Jewish scholar Hannah Arendt had the honesty to write:[55]

> It is of some importance to realize that all pictures of concentration camps are misleading insofar as they show the camps in their last stages, at the moment the Allied troops marched in ... The condition of the camps was a result of the war events during the final months: Himmler had ordered the evacuation of all extermination camps in the East, the German camps were consequently vastly overcrowded, and he was no longer in a position to assure the food supply in Germany.

Let us once more recall that the expression "extermination camps" is a creation of Allied war propaganda.

Eisenhower thus followed Churchill's lead and set about building, on an American scale, such a propaganda edifice, based on atrocity stories, that soon everything and anything came to be allowed, as much in regard to the vanquished as to the simple, factual truth. In news reports about the German camps there were added to the true horrors, as I have said, horrors truer than life. Eliminated were the photographs or film segments showing inmates with beaming faces, such as that of Marcel Paul,[56] or those in relatively good health despite the severe shortages or epidemics, or, as at Dachau, the healthy Hungarian Jewish mothers with their babes-in-arms. Instead, the public was only shown images of the sickly, the wasted, the human rags,

who were actually just as much victims of the Allies as of the Germans, for the former, with their carpet-bombing of the whole of Germany and their systematic aerial strafing of civilians — even of farm workers in the fields — had brought about an apocalypse in the heart of Europe.

Respect for the truth will oblige one to remark that neither Churchill, nor Eisenhower, nor Truman, nor de Gaulle was impudent enough to lend credence to the tales of chemical slaughterhouses. They left that job to their propaganda specialists and to the judges of their military tribunals. Appalling tortures were inflicted on the Germans who, in the eyes of the Allies, were guilty of all of those "crimes." Reprisals were carried out against German prisoners and civilians. As late as 1951 German men and women were being hanged. (Even in the 1980s, the Soviets were still shooting German or German-allied "war criminals.") British and American soldiers, at first quite taken aback at the sight both of the German cities reduced to rubble, and of their inhabitants turned into cave-dwellers, could return home with peace of mind. Churchill and Eisenhower were there to vouch for the Truth: the Allied forces had brought down Evil; they embodied Good; there was to be a program of "re-education" for the defeated Germans, including the burning by the millions of their bad books. All told, the Great Slaughter had come to a happy ending, and had been carried out for a righteous cause. Such was the fraud made holy by the Nuremberg show-trial.

A Fraud at Last Denounced in 1995

It took no less than 50 years for a historian, Annette Wieviorka, and a filmmaker, William Karel, to reveal to the general public, in a documentary entitled *Contre l'oubli* ("Against Forgetting"), the 1945 American and Soviet stagings and fabrications carried out in the context of the liberation of the camps in East and West.

Wieviorka, a French Jew, and Karel, an Israeli who has lived in France since 1985, have manifestly been influenced by the French revisionist school. Although quite hostile toward the latter, they have nonetheless admitted that the time has at last come to denounce some of the exterminationist propaganda's most glaring fictions. On this subject one may refer either to an article by the journalist Philippe Cusin[57] or, especially, to another article that Béatrice Bocard prepared for the repeat broadcast of "Against Forgetting" on *Antenne 2* television, a piece whose title alone says a great deal: "The Shoah, from reality to the spectacle. The indecent stagings by the liberators in the face of the deportees' accounts."[58] In it Bocard wrote:

> With only slight exaggeration, it might be said that the liberation of the concentration camps introduced the *reality shows* ... The first signs of the genre of spectacles that television channels like CNN were to make commonplace 50 years later were already there, with attempts to outdo [one another] at indecency, at voyeurism, and with recourse to staging ... The least infirm of the survivors were made to repeat their script before the cameras: "I was deported because I was Jewish," says one of them. Once, twice ... Not to be outdone by the American "show," the Soviets, who had done nothing at the time of the Auschwitz camp's liberation, shot a "fake liberation" a few weeks afterwards, with Polish extras enthusiastically greeting the soldiers ... "William Karel is the first to have dissected these false images that we had always been told, until quite recently, were genuine," says Annette Wieviorka. How had it been possible to accept them? "People are not in the habit of questioning images as they question texts," the historian explains. "The example of the [purported] mass graves at Timosoara [Romania, December 1989] is not too distant."

These Hungarian Jewish mothers with their babies were photographed at Dachau on May 1, 1945, two days after the liberation of the camp. The official US Army caption reports that these Jewish babies were born during the final months of German control of the camp. (US Army photo SC 205488.)

It goes without saying that, in this article by Bocard, the manipulations were presented as being offensive ... for the internees. Some German soldiers and civilians denounced this sort of fakery as early as 1945 but, instead of being believed, they were accused of Nazism or anti-Semitism.

The Jewish Organizations' Responsibility for This Propaganda

From its origins in 1941 up to the present, the propaganda that has evolved around the "genocide" and the "gas chambers" has essentially been the product of Jewish organizations. As a result, the general public has gradually become convinced that the Germans carried out a wartime program of physical extermination directed, above all, at the Jews, and that the "gas chambers" were in some way reserved exclusively for them (including for the Jewish "Sonderkommando" members whose supposed job was to lead their fellow Jews to the slaughter). Nowadays, the countless "Holocaust museums" constitute a Jewish monopoly, and a Hebrew word, "Shoah" ("catastrophe"), is used ever more often to designate this purported genocide. Whatever their part in the making of the myth and in its success, the western Allies played only a supporting role, and always under pressure from various Jewish organizations. (The Soviet case may have been different: Moscow's fabrication of an "Auschwitz" in which the fate of the Jews was not particularly emphasized may have been born of the need for a propaganda to be directed less toward the peoples behind the Iron Curtain than toward Western "progressives.")

The fact that today some Jewish voices are being raised to ask that there be less talk of the "gas chambers" has not induced Jewish community leaders to tone down the "Holocaust" or Shoah propaganda. From the standpoint of Jewish historians these incredible "gas chambers" have, to put it simply, become somewhat burdensome in propagating the Shoah religion.

A French political figure, Jean-Marie Le Pen, has said that the Nazi gas chambers are a detail of Second World War history. Yet, in their respective writings on that war, Eisenhower, Churchill, and de Gaulle apparently regarded those chemical slaughterhouses as even less than a detail, given that they did not mention a word of them. A similar discretion can be noted on the part of the historian René Rémond, who was a prominent member first of the French *Comité d'histoire de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale* (Committee on the History of the Second World War), then of the *Institut d'histoire du temps présent* (Institute of Contemporary History): in two of his works where one might expect to read the words "gas chambers," one finds no such thing. The American historian Daniel Jonah Goldhagen speaks of Nazi gas chambers as an "epiphenomenon." In the 84,000-word French version of the Nuremberg judgment, only 520 extremely vague words are devoted to them, a portion amounting to 0.62 percent of the text.[59]

For a revisionist, the gas chambers are less than a detail because they quite simply never existed. But the gas chamber myth is much more than a detail: it is the cornerstone of a huge structure of beliefs of all sorts that the law forbids us to question.

"Gas chambers or not, what does it matter?" This question may at times be heard, tinged with skepticism. It bothers Pierre Vidal-Naquet, for whom the abandonment of the gas chambers would be a "surrender in open country."[60] One can only agree with him. On the matter of the gas chambers' existence or non-existence hinges, in effect, the question of whether the Germans are to be regarded as arrant criminals, or instead, the Jews as arrant liars (or confidence men). In the former case, the Germans, in the space of three or four years, killed industrial proportions of poor unarmed victims by industrial means whereas, in the latter, the Jews, for more than half a century, peddled a lie of historic dimensions.

In 1976 the American Arthur Robert Butz, published his book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century.* In the newspaper *Le Monde* of December 29, 1978, and January 16, 1979, I published two texts on "the rumor of Auschwitz," and, at the very start of that same year of 1979, Wilhelm Stäglich published *Der Auschwitz Mythos.* Voicing the grave Jewish worries in the face of the emergence of revisionist writings, the Zionist William D. Rubinstein, professor at Deakin University in Melbourne, wrote at the time: "... Were the Holocaust shown to be a hoax, the number one weapon in Israel's propaganda armory disappears."[61] Some time later he similarly declared: "... The fact that if the Holocaust can be shown to be a 'Zionist myth,' the strongest of all weapons in Israel's propaganda armory collapses."[62]

Eight years later, as if to echo those statements, a lawyer for the "International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism" (LICRA) wrote:[63]

> If [it is true that] the gas chambers existed, then Nazi barbarity has no equal. If not, the Jews will have lied and anti-Semitism will thus be justified. Those are the stakes in the debate.

In Ernst Zündel's phrase, "the 'Holocaust' is Israel's sword and shield."

The stakes are thus not merely historical but also political. And the political stakes present a paradox: the "Holocaust" myth serves, in the first place, to condemn German National Socialism, and secondarily all forms of nationalism or of the national idea — except the Israeli and Zionist variety, which the myth, on the contrary, reinforces.

The stakes are just as much financial, as one may realize when considering that, at least since the "reparations" agreement signed at Luxembourg in 1952, German taxpayers have paid "astronomi-

cal" sums (as Nahum Goldmann put it) to the Jewish population of the State of Israel as well as outside (in the Diaspora), and that they are to continue to pay for the crimes of the Shoah imputed to them until at least the year 2030. The "Shoah Business," denounced even by a Pierre Vidal-Naquet, is inseparable from the Shoah.

Today, the bluff of the Shoah legitimizes a worldwide racket. In the first place, a growing number of either rich or poor countries, including France, find themselves facing claims made by billionaire Edgar Bronfman's World Jewish Congress, and by immensely wealthy American Jewish organizations, for new "reimbursements" or new "reparations" in the form of mountains of gold and money. The countries of Europe, starting with Switzerland, are not the only ones targeted. For the moment a well-established "mafia" concentrates on four main issues (there will certainly be others in future): "Nazi gold," Jewish assets, Jewish art collections, and insurance policies taken out by Jews. The chief targets are governments, banks, museums, auction houses, and insurance firms. The New Jersey legislature, under pressure from Jewish organizations, took measures to impose a boycott of Swiss banking institutions. This is but the beginning. The only real argument brought to bear by the blackmailers can be put in one word: Shoah. Not one government, not one bank, not one insurance company dare retort that the matter at hand is one of myth, and that there is no question of its paying for a crime that was not committed. The Swiss, also under pressure from Jewish organizations, were at first so naive as to think that it would be enough to enact a law forbidding any questioning of the Shoah. But no sooner had they enacted this new legislation than Bronfman presented them his bill. They then offered considerable amounts: a wasted effort. An "angry" Bronfman let it be known that it would take infinitely more to satisfy him. "My experience with the Swiss," he remarked, "is that unless you hold their feet very close to the fire, they don't take you seriously."[64]

As for the moral wrong done to Germany in particular and to non-Jews in general by the propagation of the "Holocaust" faith, it is incalculable. Incessantly the Jewish organizations repeat their accusations, not only against a Germany supposedly guilty of a "genocide" of the Jews, but also against Churchill, Roosevelt, de Gaulle, Stalin, Pope Pius XII, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the neutral countries, and still other countries, all guilty, supposedly, of having permitted Germany to commit this "genocide" and, consequently, themselves likewise liable for financial "reparations."

Jewish Organizations Impose a 'Holocaust' Creed

My writings have dealt little with the "Jewish question." If, over so long a period, I doggedly pursued this historical inquiry without giving much thought to the "Jewish question" as such, it was because, to my mind, the latter was of only secondary importance. Were I to dwell on it I might risk being thrown off the essential course: for I was seeking, first and foremost, to determine, respectively, the real and the mythical components in the story of the so-called "Holocaust" or Shoah. It was therefore far more important for me to establish the actual facts than to try to uncover the responsibilities.

And yet, in spite of myself, two things made me abandon this reticence: the attitude of numerous Jews toward my work, and the aggressive manner in which they served notice on me to state my position regarding the subject that grips so many of them: the "Jewish question."

When, in the early 1960s, I approached what Olga Wormser-Migot was to call in her 1968 doctoral thesis "the problem of the gas chambers," I knew beforehand what sort of consequences such an undertaking might generate. Paul Rassinier's example was there to warn me that I could expect grave repercussions. I nonetheless decided to go ahead with it, to keep within the framework of research of an entirely scholarly nature, and to publish my results. I also chose to leave to the potential adversary any responsibility for recourse to coercion or perhaps even physical violence should the matter ever go beyond the confines of academic controversy.

And that is precisely what happened. Using a metaphor, I could say that the frail door behind which I drafted my revisionist writings one day abruptly gave way to the pushing and shoving of a loud mob of protesters. I was bound then to remark that, in their entirety or quasi-entirety, these troublemakers were sons and daughters of Israel. "The Jews" had barged into my life. I suddenly found them to be not as I had known them hitherto, that is, as individuals to be distinguished one from the other, but as mutually inseparable elements of a group especially united in hatred and, to use their own word, in "anger." Frenzied and frothy-mouthed, in a tone at once moaning and threatening, they came to trumpet in my ears that my work outraged them, that my conclusions were false, and that I must imperatively show allegiance to their version of Second World War history. This kosher version of history put "the Jews" at the center of that war as its victims "second to none," while in fact the conflict caused probably close to 40 million deaths. For Jews, their slaughter is unique in world history. I was warned that unless I complied my career would be ruined. Soon afterwards I was brought to court. Then, by way of the media, the Grand Sanhedrin

made up of the priests, doctors, and other worthies of Jewish Law enforcement launched a virulent campaign against me, advocating hatred and violence. I shall not dwell here on the insults, physical assaults, and court cases that have been its interminable aftermath.[65]

The leaders of these Jewish organizations readily call me a "Nazi," which I am not. As comparisons go, "Palestinian" seems more befitting in view of my standing with them, for they have treated me like one, and I have come to believe that the Jews in their Diaspora behave toward those who displease them much as their brethren behave in Palestine. My writings are, in a sense, the stones of my Intifada. Frankly speaking, I find no essential difference between the behavior of the Zionist leaders of Tel Aviv or Jerusalem, and that of the Jewish leaders in Paris or New York: the same harshness, the same spirit of conquest and domination, the same insistence on privileges, all against a constant background of blackmail, of pressure accompanied by complaints and moaning. Such is the case in today's world. Was it different in the past? Were the Jewish people as unhappy in past centuries as they tend to claim? Have they suffered as much from wars, foreign and civil, as have other human communities? Have they experienced as much hardship and misery? Have they really had no responsibility for the hostile reactions of which they are so quick to complain? On this point, Bernard Lazare wrote:[66]

Paul Rassinier

> If this hostility, even repugnance, had been brought to bear on the Jews only at one time and in one country, it would be easy to explain the limited causes of such anger; but this race has been, on the contrary, faced with the hatred of all the peoples among whom it has settled. Therefore, because the Jews' foes have belonged to the most diverse races — races inhabiting lands quite distant from one another, living under different laws and governed by opposing principles, having neither the same ways nor customs, and, animated by various ways of thinking, being unable to judge all things in the same manner — the general causes of anti-Semitism must always have lain in Israel itself, and not amongst those who have fought against it.
>
> This is not to assert that the Jews' persecutors have always had right on their side, nor that they have not resorted to all the excesses that may accompany ardent hatred, but merely to postulate that — at least some of the time — the Jews have brought their ills upon themselves.

Lazare was not in the least hostile to his co-religionists — quite the opposite, in fact. He had the frankness to recall, in several passages in his book, how skilful the Jews had been, throughout their history (and thus as far back as Greco-Roman antiquity), in obtaining privileges. He noted that, among those of the poor who converted to Judaism, many "were attracted by the privileges granted to the Jews."[67]

I trust that I may be permitted here a personal digression.

In my capacity as an erstwhile Latinist, as a defendant prosecuted in court by Jewish organizations, as a university professor prevented from giving his lectures by Jewish demonstrations, and, finally, as an author forbidden to publish because of certain Chief Rabbinate decisions that have been ratified by the French Republic, it has occurred to me that I may compare my experiences with those of some illustrious predecessors. It is thus that my thoughts turn to the Roman aristocrat Lucius Flaccus. In 59 BC Cicero had occasion to defend him, notably against his Jewish accusers. The description of the influence, power, and methods of the Jews in Rome that the brilliant orator then gave in the praetorium leads me to think that, if he were to return to this world, in the late twentieth century, to defend a revisionist, he would not, as it were, have to change one word on that subject in the text of his plea (which is known as *Pro Flacco*).

Having taught at the Sorbonne, my thoughts also turn to my predecessor Henri Labroue, author of a work entitled *Voltaire antijuif*. Late in 1942, in the middle of the German occupation, a time when we are expected to believe that the Jews and their supporters were as discreet as possible, he had to abandon his lectures on the history of Judaism. In the words of the present-day Sorbonne luminary André Kaspi: "A chair of the history of Judaism was created at the Sorbonne beginning with the fall term of 1942, and held by Henri Labroue. The first courses provoked hostile demonstrations and incidents that led to the course's cancellation."[68]

Today, dozens of great authors of world literature, including Shakespeare, Voltaire, Hugo, and Zola (the partisan of Captain Dreyfus also wrote "*L'Argent*"), would find themselves in court, sued and prosecuted by Jewish organizations. Among the

great names in French politics, even the Socialist and pacifist Jean Jaurès would be in the dock of disgrace.

Such considerations might earn me the label "anti-Semitic" or "anti-Jewish." I reject those epithets, which I see as trite insults. I wish no harm to any Jew. At the same time, I regard as loathsome the behavior of most of the associations, organizations, and pressure groups that claim to represent Jewish interests or "Jewish remembrance."

The leaders of those associations, organizations, or groups obviously have the greatest difficulty in understanding that one may act out of simple intellectual curiosity. I have devoted a good part of my life to revisionism, first in the field of literary studies, then in that of historical research, not at all as a result of some invidious calculation, or in the service of an anti-Jewish plot, but in heeding an impulse as natural as that which makes the birds sing and the leaves grow, and which makes men in the darkness strive after light.

Historical Science's Natural Resistance to this Creed

I could have followed the example set by some other revisionists by proffering my surrender, showing repentance, and retracting certain statements. As another avenue of escape, I might have sought contentment in discreetly devising clever and convoluted maneuvers. Not only did I decide, in the late 1970s, to resist openly and in the public forum, but I also pledged to myself not to play the adversary's game. I resolved to change nothing in my own behavior, and to let the hotheads get hotter by the day, if they so chose. Among the Jews, I would listen only to those who, especially brave, dared to take up my defense, if only for the duration of a season.[69]

On the whole, Jewish organizations brand as "anti-Semites" those who do not adopt their own conception of Second World War history. This is understandable, for the act of going so far as to say, as I do here and now, that these organizations are among those most to blame for the peddling of a gigantic myth, may well seem to be inspired by anti-Semitism. But, in reality, I only draw obvious conclusions from a historical inquiry that seems to have been quite a serious one given that, in spite of the feverish research of plaintiffs and prosecutors, no court has ever found in it a trace of shallowness, negligence, deliberate ignorance, or falsehood.

Moreover, I fail to see why I, for my part, ought to show respect toward groups of persons who have never shown the least respect for my research work, my publications, or my personal, family, or professional life. I do not attack these bodies for their religious convictions or for their attachment to the State of Israel. All human groups revel in phantasmagoria. Consequently, each is free to offer itself a more or less real, or more or less imaginary, view of its own history. But this conception is not to be forced on others. Yet, the Jewish organizations force theirs on us, a practice that is in itself unacceptable, and all the more so given that this portrayal is manifestly wrong. And I know of no other group in France that has succeeded in making, of an article of its own religious faith (that of the Shoah), an article of the law of the Republic — a group that, with the assent of the Interior Ministry, enjoys the exorbitant privilege of operating its own armed militias; and, finally, which can decree that university teachers who displease it shall no longer have the right to work, either in France or abroad.[70]

For a Forthright Revisionism

The revisionists in fact know neither master nor disciple. They make up a heterogeneous group. They are loath to unite with one another, a trait that brings as many benefits as drawbacks. Their individualism makes them unsuited for concerted action. At the same time, the police are unable to infiltrate such a disparate group and keep it under surveillance; they cannot work their way up the channels of the revisionist structure because there simply is no such thing. These individuals feel free to improvise, each according to his aptitudes or tastes, revisionist activities that may take the most diverse forms. The quality of the work undertaken reflects this disparity, and it must be acknowledged that the results are uneven. From this point of view, one can say that much still remains to be done. The mere amateur is shoulder to shoulder with the scholar, as is the man of action with the researcher in his archives. I shall not mention any names here, for fear of labeling anyone.[71]

Regarding the manner in which the revisionist struggle is to be waged, it goes without saying that the revisionists are divided between supporters and opponents of a kind of political realism. Most of them consider that, given the strength of the taboo, they had better proceed indirectly, thereby avoiding direct clashes with the guardians of orthodoxy. For these revisionists, it is clumsy and ill-advised to state, for example, that the "Holocaust" is a myth. They believe that is more worthwhile to imply that the "Holocaust" did indeed take place, but not to the generally acknowledged extent. Keen on strategy or tactics, they seek to leave Jewish sensibilities unruffled and will suggest, wrongly, that the legendary portion of the "Holocaust" story is above all the work of the Communists or the western Allies, but not of the Jews, or if so, only very little. New revisionists have particularly been inclined to engage in this deceitful fudge, which involves presenting the Jews as victims, like everyone else, of a kind of uni-

versal false creed. According to this view, the Jews have been driven, as if by some immanent force, to believe in the genocide and the gas chambers while also being driven, doubtless by the same force, to demand ever more money in reparations for fictitious hardships.[72] A wandering Jew who has just gone over to the revisionist camp will be welcomed by these revisionists as a great genius and savior of the cause. If he appropriates as his own (and even clumsily), findings about Auschwitz of his non-Jewish predecessors', the newcomer is also hailed as a guiding light of scholarship.

I accept certain forms of such political realism, but on condition that it not be done with arrogance. There is no superiority, either intellectual or moral, in deeming that the end justifies the means, and that it is sometimes simply necessary to borrow the adversary's weapons of dissembling and lying. My personal preference is for a forthright revisionism, a revisionism without hang-ups or too many compromises; one that shows its colors; that marches straight toward its goal; alone, if need be; that does not let the enemy off lightly. Besides, long experience in the revisionist struggle has led me to think that the best strategy, the best tactic may be a series of frontal attacks; the adversary does not expect them: he imagines that no one would ever dare defy him in such a way; he discovers that he no longer inspires fear; he is disconcerted.

A Conflict Without End

On more than one occasion revisionists have proposed to their adversaries the holding of a public debate on the questions of the genocide, the six million, and the gas chambers. Jewish organizations have always shied away from this. This proves that they will not accept it. Even the Catholic Church today allows a form of dialogue with atheists. The "Synagogue," though, will never forget the offense it has suffered,[73] nor will it run the risk of engaging in such a dialogue with the revisionists. Moreover, too many political, financial, and moral interests are at stake for the leaders of either the State of Israel or of Jewry in the Diaspora to agree to launch a fair debate on the kosher version of Second World War history.

Therefore, the test of strength will continue. I see no end to it. This conflict between "exterminationism" and "revisionism," that is, between, on the one hand, a fixed, official history and, on the other hand, a critical, scholarly, secular history, is but one of many in the endless struggles between faith and reason, between belief and science, in human societies for thousands of years. The "Holocaust" or Shoah creed is an integral part of a religion, the Hebraic religion, of which, upon closer examination, the "Holocaust" phantasmagoria plainly appears to be merely one expression. No religion has ever collapsed under the weight of reason, and we are not about to witness the disappearance of the Jewish religion, together with one of its most vital components. That religion, it is currently estimated, is at least 1500 or 3,000 years old, if not 4,000. There is no special reason why those living in the year 2000 should have the privilege of witnessing the demise of a religion so deeply rooted in the ages.

Some say that one day the "Holocaust" or Shoah myth will fade away, just as Stalinist Communism foundered not long ago, or as the Zionist myth and the State of Israel will founder one day. But those who say so are likening unlike things. Communism and Zionism stand on shaky ground; both presuppose largely illusory high aspirations in Man: general absence of selfishness, equal sharing among all, a sense of sacrifice, labor for the common good; their emblems have been, for the former, the hammer, the sickle, and the kolkhoz [collective farm], and, for the latter, the sword, the plough, and the kibbutz. The Jewish religion, for its part, beneath the complex outward appearance provided by the Masora and the *pilpul*, does not indulge in such flights of fancy. It aims low to aim straight. It relies on the real. Underneath the cover of Talmudic extravagance and intellectual or verbal wizardry, one may see that it is above all hand-in-glove with money, King Dollar, the Golden Calf, and the allurements of consumerism. Who can believe that these "values" will soon lose their power? And besides, why should the demise of the State of Israel bring in its wake dire consequences for the myth of the "Holocaust"? On the contrary, the millions of Jews thus forced to settle or resettle in the rich countries of the West would not miss the chance to bewail a "Second Holocaust" and, once again and even more forcefully, would blame the entire world for the new ordeal visited upon the Jewish people, who would then have to be "compensated."

In the end, the Jewish religion — and one sees this only too well in the tales of the "Holocaust" — is anchored in that perhaps deepest zone of Man: fear. Therein lies its strength. Therein lies its chance for survival, despite all the hazards and despite the battering that its myths have taken at the hands of historical revisionism. By exploiting fear, the practitioners of Judaism win every time.

I agree with French sociologist and historian Serge Thion,[74] who observes that whereas historical revisionism has won all the intellectual battles over the past 25 years, it loses the ideological war every day. Revisionism runs up against the irrational, against a quasi-religious way of thinking, against the refusal to take into account anything that originates from a non-Jewish sphere. We are in the presence of a sort of secular theology whose worldwide

high priest is Elie Wiesel, ordained by the award of a Nobel prize.

The Future Between Repression and the Internet

Newcomers to revisionism must take care not to harbor illusions. Their task will be hard. Will it be less so than it was for Paul Rassinier and his immediate successors? Will the repression be less fierce?

Personally, I rather doubt it. Yet, in the world at large, changes in the political balance and in communication technology will perhaps give minorities an opportunity to be more widely heard than they have been in the recent past. Thanks to the Internet, it will perhaps be easier for revisionists to foil censorship, and historical information will doubtless become more accessible.

The fact remains that at the close of a century and a millennium, humanity is strangely experiencing a world in which books, newspapers, radio, and television are ever more tightly controlled by the masters of finance or by the thought police, while at the same time, in parallel and at increasing speed, new means of communication are being developed which, at least in part, elude those forces' dominion. One might see it as a world of two distinct profiles, one stiffening and ageing, and another, in the insolence of youth, looking keenly to the future. The same contrast can be seen in historical research, at least in the sector that is under thought police surveillance: on one side, the official historians, who bring out countless works on the "Holocaust" or Shoah, isolating themselves within the realm of religious belief or of hair-splitting argument while, on the other side, independent minds strive to follow only the precepts of reason and science. Thanks to the latter, free historical research is today showing an impressive vitality, notably on the Internet.

The upholders of an official history, protected and guaranteed by the law, will be forever doomed to confront the questioners of their ordained truth. The former, long established, have the wealth and the power; the latter, a real future.

A Worsening Repression

If there is one point on which revisionist writings can convey as much information to revisionists as to anti-revisionists, it is that of the repression endured by the former at the hands of the latter.

Nearly every revisionist can provide a good account of what it has cost him to speak out on a taboo subject, but he is not always aware of what his colleagues in other countries have had to endure. The anti-revisionists, for their part, systematically minimize the extent of their repressive actions. They are mindful only of their own torments, which they compare to those suffered by Torquemada and the Grand Inquisitors: they are obliged to flog, ever to flog; their arms grow weary, they feel cramps coming on, they suffer, they groan; they find that, if there are any who deserve pity, it is the executioners; they cover their eyes and plug up their ears to avoid seeing and hearing any of their victims. At times they are even surprised, perhaps in good faith, when shown a list of revisionists whose personal, family, or professional lives they have succeeded in dashing, or of those whom they have ruined, or caused to be heavily sanctioned by fines or imprisonment, or to be gravely injured, or to have acid sprayed in their faces, or killed, or driven to suicide, while, conversely, there is not even a single instance of a revisionist touching even a hair on the head of one of his adversaries.

It must be said that the media tries, as much as possible, to conceal the effects of this widespread repression. On this score the French daily *Le Monde* has made a speciality of keeping silent about abominations that, if their victims had been Jewish anti-revisionists (such as Pierre Vidal-Naquet), would have prompted protest marches and demonstrations around the world. In this regard, the most that one can expect from the apostles of the Shoah is a warning against some excesses of anti-revisionism because these might damage the good reputation of the Jews and the sacred cause of their creed.

Among the recent batch of repressive measures taken against revisionists one may note (beginning with France) the dismissal by the education ministry of Michel Adam from his post as history teacher in a middle school in Brittany; at 57, with five dependent children, he now finds himself utterly without resources, receiving, for the moment, not even public assistance ("RMI"). As for Vincent Reynouard, also dismissed from his state sector teaching job, he was on November 10, 1998, sentenced by a court in Saint-Nazaire to three months' imprisonment and a fine of 10,000 francs for having distributed the *Rudolf Report*. Aged 29, Reynouard is married with three small children, and he and his wife are destitute. Pastor Roger Parmentier has been expelled from the Socialist Party for having come to the aid of Roger Garaudy in the latter's recent court case, while Jean-Marie Le Pen, for his part, has been indicted, in both France and Germany, for an innocuous statement on "the detail" of the gas chambers.[75]

In Barcelona on November 16, 1998, the bookseller Pedro Varela was convicted — at the behest of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, SOS-Racismo España, the city's two Jewish communities, and the Spanish Liberal Jewish Movement — of "denial of the Holocaust" and "incitement to racial hatred" in his writings. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and ordered to pay a fine of 720,000 pesetas (about $5,000), as well as heavy court costs. The

stock of his book shop (20,972 volumes and hundreds of audio and video cassettes) is to be destroyed by fire. His shop had previously been the target of violent aggression, including arson attacks. On several occasions he and his female employee had been assaulted.[76]

In Germany, more and more revisionist writings are being seized and burned. Gary Lauck (an American citizen extradited to Germany by Denmark), Günter Deckert, and Udo Walendy still languish in prison and can consider themselves lucky if their terms are not prolonged on the least pretext. After serving a one-year sentence, Erhard Kemper, of Münster, finding himself under threat of new, harsher sentences that would probably have kept him locked up for the rest of his life, has had to go underground. Other Germans and Austrians live in exile.

In Canada, the plight of Ernst Zündel and his friends continues before "Human Rights Commission" tribunals — *ad hoc* courts that blithely flout the defendant's basic rights. It is, for example, forbidden to argue that what one has written concurs with the verifiable facts. Openly declaring that "truth is no defense," these tribunals are only interested in knowing whether the defendants' writing upsets certain persons. Other special commissions, attached to the Canadian Intelligence Service, try cases of revisionists in closed session, on the basis of a file that is not shown to the defendant.[77]

Jewish groups around the world continue to push for the enactment of new and more repressive anti-revisionist laws. At a 1998 conference in Salonica, the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists called for the introduction of such laws in countries that have not yet adopted them, and let it be known that it would be holding similar meetings in more than 20 countries to lobby for new or more severe anti-revisionist laws.[78]

The Duty of Resistance

Whatever storms and vicissitudes may arise now or in future, the revisionist historian must hold firm. To the cult of tribal remembrance built on fear, vengeance and greed, he will prefer the stubborn search for exactitude. In this way he will, albeit perhaps unwittingly, do justice to the true sufferings of all victims of the Second World War. And, from this viewpoint, it is the revisionist who refuses to make a distinction among victims on the basis of race, religion, or community. Above all, he will reject the supreme imposture that gave the crowning touch to that conflict: that of the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials, and of the thousand other proceedings since the war in which, even today, the victor, without in the least having to answer for his own crimes, has assumed the right to prosecute and condemn the vanquished.

Contrary to the romantic vision of the aristocratic author Chateaubriand (1768-1848), the historian is hardly "commissioned to avenge peoples," and still less so to avenge one that claims to be God's own.

On whatever subject, the historian in general and the revisionist historian in particular have no other mission than to determine the accuracy of what is said. That mission is basic and obvious, but also — as experience teaches — perilous.

Notes

1. "'Holocaust-Leugner,' 'Revisionist,' 'Negationist' — jeder weiss, was ein solcher Vorwurf bedeutet. Er bedeutet soviel wie Ausschuss aus der zivilisierten Menschheit. Jemand, den eine solche Verdächtigung ereicht, ist erledigt. Seine bürgerliche Existenz ist dahin und sein Ansehen als Wissenschaftler ruiniert." "Man wird darüber zu reden haben, wie es um die öffentlichkeit in einem Land bestellt sein muss, in dem es ausreicht, die Keule der Auschwitz-Lüge zu schwingen, um einem Wissenschaftler von Rang binnen einer Sekunde moralisch zu erledigen."

   These are the words of Karl Schlögel, writing in defense of Gabor Tamas Rittersporn, who was accused by Maxime Leo of having lent his support to Robert Faurisson's freedom of speech in 1980. "Holocaust-Leugner im Berliner Center Marc Bloch," *Berliner Zeitung*, Feb. 12, 1998; "Eine Jagdpartie. Wie man einen Wissenschaftler ruiniert," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Feb. 18, 1998, p. 42.
2. "In July 1981 [actually, July 16, 1986], the Knesset passed a law that prohibited the denial of the Holocaust: 'The publication, in writing or orally, of work that denies the acts committed during the period of the Nazi rule, which are crimes against the Jewish people or crimes against humanity, or that downplays their dimensions with the intention of defending those who committed these crimes or of expressing support for or identification with them is liable to five years' imprisonment.' A proposal to impose ten years' imprisonment was not accepted. Thus the extermination of the Jews was no longer a subject for the historians; it was almost as if it had been uprooted from history itself and had become a national doctrine of truth, protected by law, somewhat similar in legal status to religious faith. Indeed, in one way the Holocaust has even a higher status than religion: The maximum punishment for 'crass injury' to religious sensibilities or tradition — including, presumably, any denial of God's existence — is one year in prison." Tom Segev, *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), p. 464.
3. *Bulletin quotidien d'informations de l'Agence télégraphique juive*, June 2, 1986, pp. 1, 3.
4. See: Robert Maxwell, "J'accuse," *Sunday Mirror* (owned by Maxwell), London, July 17, 1988, p. 2.

5. "Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years, and More, of Terrorism in France," *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1996, pp. 2-13.
6. On the complications in using hydrocyanic acid (and Zyklon), see: R. Faurisson, "The Mechanics of Gassing," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1980, pp. 23-30; R. Faurisson, "The Gas Chambers of Auschwitz Appear to be Physically Inconceivable," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1981, pp. 311-317; R. Faurisson, "The Gas Chambers: Truth or Lie?," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1981, pp. 319-373, esp. pp. 356-358; B. Kulaszka, ed./comp., *Did Six Million Really Die?: Report of the Evidence in the Canadian 'False News' Trial of Ernst Zündel* (Toronto: Samisdat, 1992), pp. 322-334, 471-489 (including the "Leuchter Report" and Nuremberg document NI-9912).
7. M. Weber, "Zionism and the Third Reich," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1993, pp. 29-37.
8. The "Jewish babies [were] thrown, alive, into the crematories." Thus writes Pierre Weil, director of the French public opinion poll institute SOFRES, in his article "L'anniversaire impossible," *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Feb. 9, 1995, p. 53.
9. "Moreover, it is worthwhile ... to stress that the ghetto is historically a Jewish invention." Nahum Goldmann, *Le Paradoxe juif* (Paris, Stock, 1976), pp. 83-84. US edition: *The Jewish Paradox* (New York: 1978), p. 66. See also Pierre-André Taguieff, "L'identité juive et ses fantasmes," *L'Express*, Jan. 20-26, 1989, p. 65.
10. R. Faurisson, "How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-87, pp. 389-403.
11. H. Roques, *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein* (IHR, 1989); H. Roques, *Quand Alain Decaux reconte l'histoire du SS Kurt Gerstein* (1998); "French Court Fines Faurisson, Roques for 'Holocaust Denial' Book," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1995, pp. 13-17.
12. R. Faurisson, "Genocide by Telepathy, Hilberg Explains," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1999, pp. 15-16.
13. See, for example, the 1960 letter by Martin Broszat, "No Gassing in Dachau," and, "Wiesenthal Re-Confirms: 'No Extermination Camps on German Soil'," both in *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1993, pp. 9-12.
14. Eric Conan, "Auschwitz: la mémoire du mal," *L'Express*, Jan. 19-25, 1995, p. 68. See also: "Major French Magazine Acknowledges Auschwitz Gas Chamber Fraud," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1995, pp. 23-24.
15. E. Conan, "Auschwitz: la mémoire du mal," *L'Express*, Jan. 19-25, 1995 (cited above), p. 68.

    In 1992, that is, long after "the late 1970s," David Cole, a young Californian revisionist of Jewish origin, was presented as the discoverer of the "gas chamber" falsifications at Auschwitz I. In a mediocre video, he showed, on the one hand, the Museum guides' version (according to which the gas chamber is genuine) and, on the other hand, that of Franciszek Piper, a member of the Museum administration (for whom this gas chamber is "very similar" to the original). There was nothing new in that. The trouble was that Cole and his friends exaggerated greatly — to put it mildly — in later claiming that Piper had acknowledged that there had been a "fraud." There had indeed been a fraud, but unhappily Cole was not able to unmask it because he was too unfamiliar with the body of revisionist work. He could have definitively confounded Piper by showing him, on film, the original blueprints I had discovered in 1975-1976 and published "in the late 1970s." These plainly show that today's alleged "gas chamber" is the result of a certain number of makeovers of the premises carried out after the war. For instance, the ceiling's four alleged "holes for the pouring in of the Zyklon B" were made — quite crudely and clumsily — after the war: the steel reinforcement bars in the concrete were broken by the Polish Communists and remain today as they were left then.

    (On the Cole video, see also: G. Raven, "Dramatic New Videotape Presentation Takes Aim at Key Holocaust Claims," and, D. Cole , "A Jewish Revisionist's Visit to Auschwitz," both in *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1993, pp. 8-13.)
16. R. J. van Pelt and D. Dwork, *Auschwitz, 1270 to the Present*, (London: Yale University Press, 1996; New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), pp. 363-364, 367, 369. See also: R. Faurisson, "The 'Gas Chamber' of Auschwitz I," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Dec. 1999, pp. 12-13.
17. See: "French Court Fines Faurisson, Roques for 'Holocaust Denial' Book," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1995, pp. 13-17. See also: ""The Jewish World' Against Pressac," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1996, p. 41.

    Three years later, Pressac was reduced to writing: "Thus, according to the statements of former members of the *Sonderkommando*, it is reckoned with firm certainty that a film on homicidal gassings was shot by the SS at Birkenau. Why should it not be found by chance [at some future date] in the attic or cellar of a former SS man?" Source: J.-C. Pressac, "Enquête sur les chambres à gaz," in *Auschwitz, la Solution finale* (Paris), Collections de *L'Histoire*, no. 3, October 1998, p. 41.
18. J.-C. Pressac, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz* (CNRS, 1993), p. 148; J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (Piper, 1994), pp. 199, 202. See also: R. Faurisson, "Auschwitz: Facts and Legend," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1997, pp. 17, 19.
19. Arno J. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The "Final Solution" in History* (New York: Pantheon, 1989), p. 362. In this same book he also wrote (p. 365): "Besides, from 1942 to 1945, certainly at Auschwitz,

but probably overall, more Jews were killed by so-called 'natural' causes [starvation, disease, sickness, and overwork] than by 'unnatural' ones."

20. Jacques Baynac in *Le Nouveau Quotidien* (Lausanne), September 2, 1996, p. 16, and September 3, 1996, p. 14. See, beforehand, Jacques Baynac and Nadine Fresco, "Comment s'en débarrasser ?" ("How to get rid of them?" — that is, the revisionists"), *Le Monde*, June 18, 1987, p. 2. See also: R. Faurisson, "An Orthodox Historian [Baynac] Finally Admits That There is No Evidence for Nazi Gas Chambers," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1998, pp. 24-28.
21. It has sometimes been held that the six million figure originated in a newspaper article published in ... 1919, under the signature of Martin H. Glynn, former governor of New York: "The Crucifixion of Jews Must Stop!" (*The American Hebrew*, October 31, 1919). In this article Glynn made an appeal for contributions to help six million European Jews who, he wrote, were being subjected to starvation and persecution and were thus experiencing a "holocaust," a "crucifixion." (A facsimile of a portion of this article is in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1995, p. 31.)

    The word "holocaust," with the meaning of "disaster," is attested in English as early as the 17th century. In this 1919 usage, it designates the consequences of a famine described as an impending disaster. In 1894, French Jewish writer Bernard Lazare (1865-1903) applied the word to the massacres of Jews: "... from time to time, kings, noblemen, or the urban rich offered their slaves a holocaust of Jews ... the Jews were offered in holocaust." B. Lazare, *L'Antisémitisme, son histoire et ses causes* (Paris: L. Chailley, 1894; re-issued: Paris, La Vieille Taupe, 1985), pp. 67, 71.
22. Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *A Holocaust Reader* (New York: Behrman House, 1976), p. 327. Weissmandel's letters were published in Hebrew in New York in 1960 under the title *Min hametzar*. Portions of two of them are published in translation in *A Holocaust Reader*.
23. For this discovery I am indebted to the German historian Joachim Hoffmann. See: J. Hoffmann, *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg 1941-1945* ("Stalin's War of Annihilation"), Munich: Verlag für Wehrwissenschaften, 2nd edition, 1995, p. 161, and n. 42 on p. 169. Hoffmann points out that Ehrenburg gave that figure in an article in the *Soviet War News* of January 4, 1945, headlined: "Once Again - Remember!" While trying to verify this point at London's Imperial War Museum, I found nothing under that date. However, I did find the text mentioned by Hoffmann under another heading and another date: "Remember, Remember, Remember," in *Soviet War News*, December 22, 1944, pp. 4-5.

    In the 5th edition of *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg 1941-1945* (Munich: Herbig, 1999), see pp. 183, 193-194, 327, 390-393, including facsimile of Ehrenburg's essay in the *Soviet War News* of Dec. 22, 1944.
24. "Holocaust Survivors," Adina Mishkoff, Administrative Assistant, AMCHA, Jerusalem, August 13, 1997. (The figures are provided by the office of Israel's prime minister.)
25. The Museum's miserable and fallacious mock-up has openings in the roof for introducing the Zyklon (openings that, in fact, never existed), as well as allegedly perforated pillars (which, as one can also see today, were solid). This mock-up is reproduced in another guide book published in 1995: Jeshajahu Weinberg and Rina Elieli, *The Holocaust Museum in Washington* (New York: Rizzoli), pp. 126-127. On the other hand, this second guidebook does not show the "document" that Berenbaum had presented in his own 1993 guide, *The World Must Know* (p. 138) as an exhibit *par excellence* proving the reality of homicidal gassings: an alleged gas chamber door at Majdanek.

    Regarding this Majdanek "gas chamber" door, see: R. Faurisson, "The US Holocaust Museum: A Challenge," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1993, pp. 14-17, esp. p. 16; "Gas Chamber Door Fraudulently Portrayed at US Holocaust Musuem," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1993, p. 39.
26. *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 30, 1993, p. 96.
27. *All Rivers Run to the Sea: Memoirs*, volume I (New York: Knopf, 1995), p. 74.
28. Michael Berenbaum and Abraham J. Peck, eds., *The Holocaust and History: The Known, the Unknown, the Disputed and the Reexamined*. Published in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (Washington, DC). Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998. xv + 836 pages; 55 contributions.

    See the review by R. Faurisson of this book: "Much 'Holocaust' But No History: The Failure of Rabbi Berenbaum," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1998, pp. 29-31.
29. M. Berenbaum and A. J. Peck, eds., *The Holocaust and History* (cited above), p. 15.
30. Compare this with the media exaggerations about "genocide" in Timosoara, Romania, December 1989. On this see the essay by Faurisson, "Un mensonge gros comme le le siècle," in his *Écrits révisionnistes* (1999), vol. III, p. 1141-1150.
31. The purported model of a crematory with its "gas chamber" on display at the Auschwitz State Museum, as well as the one at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, are so cursory in design precisely regarding the "gas chamber," and at such variance with the remains that one may examine on site at Auschwitz-Birkenau, that it is laughably simple to prove that these two models are purely fanciful. See above, note 25.
32. Among the best known are:

    Odette Abadie, Louise Alcan, Esther Alicigüzel, Jehuda Bacon, Charles Baron, Bruno Baum, Charles-Sigismond Bendel, Paul Bendel, Maurice Benroubi, Henri Bily, Ada Bimko, Suzanne Birn-

baum, Eva Brewster, Henry Bulawko, Robert Clary, Jehiel Dinour (alias K. Tzetnik), Szlama Dragan, Fania Fénelon, Arnold Friedman, Philip Friedman, Michel Gelber, Israël Gutman, Dr. Hafner, Henry Heller, Benny Hochman, Régine Jacubert, Wanda Jakubowska, Stanislas Jankowski alias Alter Fajnzylberg, Simone Kadouch-Lagrange, Raya Kagan, Rudolf Kauer, Marc Klein, Ruth Klüger, Guy Kohen, Erich Kulka, Simon Laks, Hermann Langbein, Leo Laufer, Sonia Litwinska, Renée Louria, Henryk Mandelbaum, Françoise Maous, Mel Mermelstein, Ernest Morgan, Filip Müller, Flora Neumann, Anna Novac, Myklos Nyiszli, David Olère, Dounia Ourisson, Dov Paisikovic, Gisella Perl, Samuel Pisar, Macha Ravine-Speter, Jérôme Scorin, Georges Snyders, Henri Sonnenbluck, Jacques Stroumsa, David Szmulewski, Henri Tajchner, Henryk Tauber, Sima Vaïsman, Simone Veil née Jacob, Rudolf Vrba, Robert Weil, Georges Wellers ...

33. The US edition of *Fragments* was published in 1996 by Schocken (Random House), New York.
34. *Weltwoche* (Zurich), August 27 and September 3, 1998; Nicolas Weil, "La mémoire suspectée de Binjamin Wilkomirski," *Le Monde*, October 23, 1998, p. v. See also: "Holocaust Survivor Memoir Exposed as Fraud," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1998, pp. 15-16.
35. Donald Watt, *Stoker: The Story of an Australian Soldier Who Survived Auschwitz-Birkenau* (Simon & Schuster [Australia], 1995). See also: Doug Collins, "Australian Rambo Unmasked at Last," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1998, p. 5-6.
36. Fred Sedel, *Habiter les ténèbres* ("Living in the Gloom"), Paris and Geneva: La Palatine, 1963, and Paris: A.-M. Métaillié, 1990. See also: R. Faurisson, "A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel," IHR leaflet, 1996; R. Faurisson, "Auschwitz: Facts and Legend," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1997, pp. 14-19; R. Faurisson, "Elie Wiesel: One More Lie," *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1999, p. 28.
37. *Vivre, c'est vaincre* ("To Live is to Win"), by A. Rogerie (Maulévrier: Maine-et-Loire, France, 1988), is presented as having been written in 1945 and printed in the third quarter of 1946. In 1988, it was republished with fanfare by Héraut-Editions, with, on the cover, a blurb strip reading "J'ai été témoin de l'Holocauste" ("I was witness to the Holocaust"). It was in *Le Figaro* of May 15, 1996, (p. 2) that Rogerie declared that he had "beheld the Shoah at Birkenau." The extremely succinct description of the "gas chambers" and of the ovens with which he was supplied conflicts with today's accepted version: his "witness" had told him of gas entering the chambers from shower heads, and of electric ovens (p. 75).
38. A. Rogerie, *Vivre, c'est vaincre* (cited above), pp. 70, 85, 82 ("Caïds"), 83 ("Planque royale," "je garde de bons souvenirs"), 84, 87 ("A l'encontre de bien d'autres, j'y ai été moins malheureux que partout ailleurs").
39. Samuel Gringauz, "Some Methodological Problems in the Study of the Ghetto," in *Jewish Social Studies* (A Quarterly Journal Devoted to Contemporary and Historical Aspects of Jewish Life), Volume XII, edited for The Conference on Jewish Relations, New York, 1950, pp. 65-72; p. 65.
40. H. Rauschning, *Hitler Speaks* (London: T. Butterworth, 1939). Published in the US under the title *The Voice of Destruction* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1940).

    See also: David Irving, *Hitler's War* (London: Focal Point, 1991), p. 8 (introduction); "Rauschning's Phony 'Conversations With Hitler': An Update," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1985-86, pp. 499-500.
41. Statement by Justice Jackson on June 21, 1946. *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* (Nuremberg: 1947-1949), IMT "blue series," vol. 16, pp. 529-530.
42. M. Weber, "The 'Warsaw Ghetto Boy'," *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1994, pp. 6-7.
43. Nahum Goldmann, *Le Paradoxe juif* (cited above), pp. 148-149. US edition: *The Jewish Paradox* (New York: 1978), p. 122. See also: M. Weber, "The Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1992, esp. pp. 170-172, 202.
44. A. Neave, *They Have Their Exits* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1953), p. 172.
45. The two words in quotation marks, "boys" and "job," appear in the original in English.
46. Gentioux in is the French département of Creuse. Saint-Martin-d'Estréaux, in the Loire département.

    From a text of about 250 words on the Saint-Martin-d'Estréaux memorial, one may particularly remember the following: "More than twelve million dead! As many individuals thus to go unborn! Still more maimed, wounded, widowed and orphaned! Countless billions in assorted destructions. Scandalous fortunes made from human misery. The innocent before firing squads. The guilty honored. A horrid life for the disinherited. The frightful price to pay." Further on it reads: "The spirit of Nations must be improved by improving that of individuals with an enriched and widely expanded instruction. The people must know how to read. And above all to grasp the importance of what they read." The text ends: "Cursed be war. And its perpetrators!"
47. See: Christiane Gallus, "Une pandémie qui a fait trois fois plus de victimes que la guerre de 1914-1918" ("A pandemic that claimed three times as many victims as the war of 1914-1918"), *Le Monde*, Dec. 31, 1997, p. 17.
48. *Hitler: Born at Versailles*, by Léon Degrelle (1906-1994). Published by the IHR (hardcover, 535 pages, with photos).
49. Pierre Kaufmann, "Le danger allemand" ("The German Danger"), *Le Monde*, Feb. 8, 1947.
50. See: Arthur Ponsonby, *Falsehood in Wartime* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1929; IHR, 1991).

51. Mark Weber, "Bergen-Belsen Camp: The Suppressed Story," *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1995, pp. 23-30. Source cited: Raymond Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)*, (London: William Hodge, 1949), pp. 163-166.
52. Such was the case, for instance, of Bartley C. Crum in his book *Behind the Silken Curtain* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1947), p. 114.

    As late as 1978, a Jewish publication was to show that bulldozer, but not without shrewdly beheading the driver in such a way as to hide his British army beret. Arthur Suzman and Denis Diamond, *Six Million Did Die: The Truth Shall Prevail* (Johannesburg: South African Board of Jewish Deputies, 1978, 2nd edition), p. 18.
53. Alfred Hitchcock, born in 1899, was already well known in 1945. For his macabre or morbid tastes, his art of manipulating the public," and the strange fascination brought to bear on his mind by gas, one may read Bruno Villien, *Hitchcock* (Paris: Colonna, 1982), pp. 9-10.
54. *Le Figaro*, October 24, 1997, p. 10.
55. H. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1951), p. 446, n. 138.
56. A famous French Communist *résistant*, Marcel Paul, much like General Rogerie, had a rather "good war" in the camps.
57. *Le Figaro*, Jan. 16, 1995, p. 29.
58. "La Shoah, de la réalité aux shows. Face aux récits des déportés, l'indécente mise en scène de leurs libérateurs," *Libération*, Dec. 18, 1995, p. 41.
59. R. Faurisson, "The Detail," *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1998, pp. 19-20.
60. "Capituler en rase campagne": Pierre Vidal-Naquet, "Le secret partagé," *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 21, 1984, p. 80.
61. Letter appearing in *Nation Review* (Australia), June 21, 1979, p. 639. (In 1997 Rubinstein was Professor of History at the University of Wales -Aberystwyth.)
62. "The Left, the Right, and the Jews," *Quadrant* (Australia), Sept. 1979, p. 27.
63. Bernard Jouanneau, *La Croix*, Sept. 23, 1987, p. 2. (LICRA = Ligue internationale contre le racisme et l'antisémitisme)
64. *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), June 2, 1998, pp. A1, 15.

    Together with his son, Edgar Bronfman, Jr., the senior Bronfman controls the Seagram's group, a North American alcohol empire that also includes such major media holdings as Universal Studios and MCA.

    In early 1998 a group of prominent Americans, including former Bush administration cabinet member William Bennett, voted Brofman the first ever "Silver Sewer" award, notably for the Jerry Springer Show, owned by Universal subsidiary USA Networks, which features "pregnant strippers, teenage prostitutes fighting with pimps, or undertakers having sex with corpses." (*Financial Times*, March 21-22, 1998, p. 2)
65. See: "Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years, and More, of Terrorism in France," *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1996, pp. 2-13. See also: M. Weber, *The Zionist Terror Network* (IHR, 1993).
66. B. Lazare, *L'Antisémitisme, son histoire et ses causes* (cited above), opening page of first chapter. Bernard Lazare (1865-1903), a major French Jewish writer of the late 19th century, played an important role in the Dreyfus affair.
67. B. Lazare, *L'Antisémitisme* (cited above), p. 27.
68. A. Kaspi, *Les Juifs pendant l'Occupation* ("The Jews during the Occupation"), revised edition (Paris: Le Seuil, 1997 [1991]), p. 109, n. 27.
69. I sometimes hear it said that there is greater risk for a Jew than for a non-Jew to profess revisionist views. The facts disprove this assertion. Not one Jew has been convicted or held liable in court for revisionism, not even Roger-Guy Dommergue (Polacco de Menasce) who, for years, has produced the most vehement writings against the lies of those whom he calls his "fellow creatures" (*congénères*). No-one as yet has ventured to invoke either the Pleven (1972) or the Fabius-Gayssot Act (1990) against him.

    At the same time, the case of the young American revisionist David Cole deserves to be recalled, for it shows to what degree of violence certain Jewish organizations can resort in order to silence Jews who have sided with the revisionist cause. (In January 1992, for example, David Cole was physically attacked by Jewish thugs of the "Jewish Defense League," who pushed him down a flight of stairs and hit him in the face, bloodying his nose. Source: M. Weber, *The Zionist Terror Network* [IHR, 1993], p. 14.)
70. Note especially the case of Bernard Notin. R. Faurisson, "The Notin Affair: Jewish Organizations Make the Law," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1997, pp. 17-18.
71. An independent researcher, even if he does not identify himself as a revisionist, can contribute indirectly to revisionism by the mere quality of his work. I shall mention one name here, that of Jean Plantin, director of a publication whose title alone indicates its erudite character: *Akribeia*, the name of his quarterly, is Greek for "exactitude," "painstaking care," and has given French the learned word "acribie" (quality of the scholar who works with extreme care). *Akribeia*, 45/3, Route de Vourles, 69230 Saint-Genis-Laval, France. (See: "Scholarly French Journal Strives for 'Exactitude'," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1998, pp. 31.)
72. See the pertinent analysis by Guillermo Coletti, "The Taming of Holocaust Revisionism," distributed on the Internet (November 13, 1998) by the Anti-Censorship News Agency (E-mail address: anti_censor@hotmail.com).
73. "Forgetting is not our main virtue" — the words of the president of the board (*consistoire*) of the Toulouse Jewish community, as cited in *Le Figaro*, Oct. 9, 1997,

p. 10.

74. Serge Thion is, in particular, the author of a revisionist work bearing the eloquent title *Une Allumette sur la banquise* ("A Match to the Ice Floe"). A revisionist book, he writes (p. 90), even if its contents seem like dynamite, perhaps gives off, all told, no more light and heat than a match "in the polar night, put to the ice floe of frozen ideas."
75. See: M. Weber, "French Courts Punish Holocaust Apostasy," *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1998, pp. 14-18; "Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1998, pp. 2-10.
76. See: "Un libraire espagnol condamné pour 'apologie de génocide'" ("A Spanish Bookseller Convicted for 'Justification of Genocide'"), *Le Monde*, Nov. 19, 1998, p. 3; also, an article by Emmanuel Ratier in his periodical *Faits & Documents* ("Facts & Documents"), Paris, Dec. 1, 1998, p. 12. (See also: M. Weber, "Spanish Court Sentences 'Thought Criminal'," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1998, pp. 21-23.)
77. In late 1998 it was announced that a new Canadian anti-revisionist law would permit police to make house searches to seize books and other materials that, in their view, might serve to spread revisionism. The proposed law also stipulated that the regular courts are to bring their procedures into line with those of the *ad hoc* Commission tribunals, which would mean that a defendant would no longer be permitted to argue that what he wrote is in fact the truth. See: "Crackdown on hate materials planned," *National Post* (Canada), November 25, 1998.
78. *Athens News*, June 28, 1998, p. 1; "Jewish Group Demands More Anti-Revisionist Laws," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1998, p. 22.

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Foiling Espionage in Berlin Radio's Arabic Service

YÛNUS BAHRÎ

Among the Lufthansa passengers arriving in Berlin on April 5, 1939 was a cheerful, outgoing, dark-haired man in his late 30s. Though evidently a foreigner, he had a good command of the German language and confidently found his way through the crowds at the airport and into the bustling capital of the Third Reich. Yûnus Bahrî, Iraqi journalist and independence activist, had visited Berlin several times before. He had first met Joseph Goebbels in 1931, before Hitler had even come to power, to enlist the propaganda chief's support for a newspaper Bahrî would publish in Baghdad. As war clouds were gathering over Europe, however, he was now embarked on quite a different mission: to launch and run Radio Berlin's first-ever Arabic language service.

Bahrî was at the microphone on April 25, 1939, at the début of the new radio service. He would continue broadcasting from the German capital until April 30, 1945, after which he would make his way out of the rubble of the dying city, out of the country and, eventually back to the Middle East. There, in Beirut, Lebanon, Bahrî published a memoir of his career in Berlin under the title Hunâ Berlin! Hayiya al-'Arab! *— "This is Berlin! Long live the Arabs!" — his trademark opening line from his broadcasts.*

In his native Iraq, Bahrî had already made a name for himself. He was editor and publisher of the Baghdad daily newspaper al-'Uqâb *("The Eagle"), founded in 1931, and he had organized an Iraqi news agency. He had played an important role, as both an administrator and announcer, of his country's first two radio stations (over one of which the country's young king himself spoke each day). He also served as editor and director of the Iraqi periodical, "The Radio."*

In his memoir, Bahrî recounted how Dr. Erich Hetzler, an official with German Radio's short wave service, visited him shortly after the Arabic-language service had begun its broadcasts. Hetzler, who was also a high ranking SS officer, invited the Iraqi broadcaster to accept a commission as a captain in the black uniformed elite. The idea, which Hetzler told him came from General Hermann Fegelein, an SS officer close to Hitler, was for Bahrî to recruit young Arabs living in Germany to form a special detachment. Bahrî agreed, but soon found that the appointment was far more than honorary. "Johannes Bahri," as this Arab SS officer was officially known, underwent a tough course of military training from September 1939 to February 1940 to prepare him for work as a war reporter. He also recruited and sent out to various Arab countries a number of young volunteer correspondents who had to work secretly and under cover. None of the correspondents, Bahrî wrote later, ever sought payment for this extremely risky work. Bahrî himself was sentenced to death in absentia by the British-controlled Iraqi regime in late 1939.

So what was it that motivated Yûnus Bahrî and other Arabs to work so eagerly for the Third Reich? Before meeting Goebbels, Bahrî had been in the service of Saudi Arabia, the only major Arab country that was independent at the time, traveling widely to promote Arab and Islamic unity. As Bahrî later made clear in his memoir, his motivation for throwing in his lot with the Germans was not infatuation with Adolf Hitler or with the message of Mein Kampf. *Bahrî, like millions of other Arabs in that age of colonialism, burned with the desire to expel the imperialist powers from the Arab world, to unite the Arab countries, and to frustrate international Zionism's determined campaign to take Palestine. Germany alone among the great powers posed a credible challenge to the empires of Britain and France, and to Zionism. With events in Europe rapidly building to a climax, Bahrî and many of his compatriots felt that the cause of Arab liberation demanded that they contribute whatever they could to help the Reich defeat their common enemies.*

Yûnus Bahrî wrote his memoir with Arab readers of the 1950s in mind. In a few places in the text he makes brief references to Arab personalities who are not directly relevant here. These have been deleted, as indicated with an ellipsis (...) In another instance, the author listed names of Arabic broad-

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This account is a translation of a portion of the memoir of Yûnus Bahrî (1902?-1979), *Hunâ Berlin! Hayiya al-'Arab!*, volume five, pages 79-93, published in Beirut in 1956 by Matb'at al-Jihâd. It is translated from the Arabic by E.G. Müller, an Arab studies specialist with a Master's degree in political science who is currently working on a Ph.D. at an American university.

casters in Berlin and their country of origin. Inasmuch as this long paragraph of Arabic names is of no particular relevance here, and might seem tedious to many readers, the names have been deleted. Instead, a sentence indicating the number of broadcasters from each Arab country has been added in brackets.

In the following excerpt, Bahrî recalls an episode from 1940. Shortly after the dismissal of one of the original Arab staff members, a new man, Dr. Zakî Karâm, joined the staff as a replacement.

— The Translator

When Dr. Kamâl al-Dîn Jalâl was dismissed suddenly from the Arabic Service (for reasons that I still don't know), someone suggested to Hamdî Khayât, one of our translator-broadcasters, that we hire Dr. Zakî Karâm to fill the vacancy. I had gotten to know Dr. Karâm many years before the start of the war. He had chosen Berlin as his third home, for he was a Syrian of Arab ancestry — from Aleppo, I think — but he had taken Turkish citizenship because he had served as an Ottoman officer in the First World War ...

I hired Zakî Karâm and he proved an excellent successor to Dr. Jalâl. He and I came to work harmoniously together. Dr. Karâm had an excellent speaking voice, but he moved slowly because of his disability. He had been seriously wounded in the right leg during the First World War. The leg had been amputated and replaced with a wooden prosthesis that kept him from moving about freely. He hobbled about with difficulty, but was for all that very active. If you gave him any assignment, he would take care of it for you quickly and cheerfully.

Dr. Karâm had extensive connections with the leaders of the National Socialist Party in general and with the personnel in the Reich's foreign ministry in particular. Among his friends he also counted many Arab and Muslim leaders throughout the Islamic world and abroad. Whenever the name of a new Middle East leader, or would-be leader, began to circulate, Dr. Karâm would plunge ahead and write to him, establishing personal contact.

Back in 1929, the late king 'Abd al-'Azîz Ibn Sa'ûd of Saudi Arabia sent me to Java, Indonesia [then the Dutch East Indies], in order to popularize the pilgrimage to Mecca. I was accompanied by the great Kuwaiti historian Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Rashîd. In Batavia, now Jakarta, we published a magazine called "Kuwait and Iraq" in which we were the first in modern Arab history to call for the unification of Kuwait and Iraq. At that time Dr. Zakî Karâm had sent me an article he had written supporting our call for Kuwaiti-Iraqi unity, demonstrating that these two fraternal Arab countries together constitute a social and economic unit, neither of which can do without the other. He noted also the strategic importance of the unity of the two lands as regards their position on the sea and the land. King 'Abd al-'Azîz Ibn Sa'ûd also encouraged us in this movement. He funded our mission to Indonesia, and also spent his own personal money on the magazines we published there in Arabic and Malay.

Anyway, since that time I had been friends with Dr. Karâm.

With great energy, Dr. Karâm began his work with the Arabic broadcasts in Berlin. He had a good grasp of his new job responsibilities, and would translate the secret reports that came to us every day — "for our personal information," and not for broadcast or publication — from various German armed forces commands, and from various German ministries. The doctor's work was, in fact, extremely satisfactory. He gave me some relief from dealing with the laziness of Professor Faraj Allâhverdî (a Turkoman who was one of the station's original translators), which was to become such a chronic problem by early 1941 that I took to calling him chief of the "gentry" of the station, where he had been chief of translation.

I helped get Dr. Karâm appointed as an additional broadcaster, thereby joining an elite group of announcers whom I had trained for the radio. [Altogether these now numbered three from Iraq, one from Lebanon, two from Palestine, two from Syria, and one each from Jordan, Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia.] Thus the staff of the Arabic service in Berlin became a miniature Arab League. This was in addition to a tumultuous army of editors, writers, translators, and male and female typists.

When [after the fall of France] we set up the Arabic service of Radio Paris as a branch of our service in Berlin, I was asked to go to Tangier (Morocco) to recruit broadcasters for the North African Arabic service of Paris Radio. I excused myself because of the heavy accumulation of work as a result of the raucous "war of the ether" being waged against us from London, Cairo, Omdurman, Baghdad and Ankara.

I requested instead that one of my assistants fly to Madrid, and from there to Tangier. The next day Dr. Karâm came to me and asked that I send him on the mission to Tangier. He said he could carry out the job well, on account of the fact that he had a Turkish passport and would not attract the attention of Allied spies in that international city, a place overrun with spies, mercenaries, and colonial agents.

I asked, skeptically, "Won't your leg give you trouble on the trip?"

He replied smiling, "I'm an old soldier. I can carry out the mission. After all, I'm not going there

to compete in an international track meet."

"Be ready to travel tomorrow," I told him. And in fact Dr. Karâm did the job very well, and he earned everybody's trust.

Two months after Dr. Karâm returned from his trip to Tangier, I received a visit by Herr Schabeu, Near East specialist for the National Socialist Party's philosopher, Alfred Rosenberg, and also one of Admiral Wilhelm Canaris' most important men in Berlin. Schabeu was, beside all that, a close friend of mine. He and I had spent many pleasant evenings in his home, and we would maintain our friendship until the last days of Berlin.

Before he sat down, Herr Schabeu asked with an uncharacteristic frown, "Does this person work at the radio?" And he showed me a passport.

I said that we had sent the owner of this passport to Tangier two months earlier on a secret mission, and he had carried it out admirably.

He stared at me inquiringly and asked, "Do you trust him?"

"Completely," I replied. "But everybody trusts him!"

"Where is he now?" he asked.

"We gave him a week's leave starting tomorrow," I told Schabeu, "to go to Vienna to visit his wife. She's undergoing medical treatment there."

"Yesterday your colleague applied for an exit visa from Germany to go to Turkey," he told me.

"And what's wrong with that?" I asked.

Herr Schabeu looked at me in surprise and then said, "Your colleague trusts you completely. Can you help us uncover what's really going on with him?"

"How can I help you?" I asked.

"Catch a flight tonight to Vienna," he said. "Be in the main lobby of the Imperial Hotel tomorrow morning at ten. A room has already been reserved for you at the hotel."

I hurriedly recorded my political commentaries for the next day's radio broadcast, and at nine o'clock that night I was in Vienna. I had lots of friends there, but I really just wanted to enjoy an evening away from the dreadful darkness and silence of the Berlin nights during the blackout — *die Verdunkelung* — that now was in force in most of the country's major cities. Vienna, in contrast, would remain bathed in bright electric lights until the end of 1940.

My old friend Faraj Tûmâ was the former director of Iraqi Immigration. He had come to live in Vienna in 1932 when a chest ailment forced him into retirement. The doctors had advised him to go to Vienna for treatment. Mr. Tûmâ was an Arab who particularly loved helping other Arabs and looking out for their needs. It made no difference to him whether one was from Iraq or Syria or Egypt or Morocco — anyone who spoke Arabic represented to him the Arab world, with all its diverse ways, countries, and dialects. The fact is, Faraj Al Tûmâ was an example of those generous Arabs who would never turn down any request. Because he had lived for a long time in Paris, Berlin and Vienna, he knew the long-time Arab residents of Germany better than anybody...

I telephoned Mr. Tûmâ from the Victoria Café in the aristocratic Vienna district known as *Schottentor*, or "Scottish Gate." He asked, "Where are you calling from?"

"I'll be at your place in less than a quarter of an hour," I told him.

At the appointed time I was next to my friend Faraj, who was a walking encyclopedia of information on the Arabs living in Germany, France and Austria. Given that he had been director of the police department that oversaw immigration and residence in Iraq, he would keep track of everyone's comings and goings just because he liked to be in the know, as well as out of a certain *cop in*quisitiveness that by now had become an instinct.

Mr. Faraj Al Tûmâ was, unlike his "namesake" Faraj Allâhverdî at the radio station, a fierce enemy of everything Turkish or Ottoman. Around the time the war broke out he was in Germany, and he went out of his way to uncover any slip-ups made by Turks or their supporters, especially because the province of Alexandretta had been detached from Syria and given to Atatürk's Turkey [by the French mandate authorities in 1937].

My friend Faraj welcomed my arrival and asked about my beautiful lady friends Gerda Mason and Fräulein Jeneka. I assured him they were still fine and that I still enjoyed mutual love and affection in my relations with each of them.

"So, what's the secret behind this sudden visit?" he asked.

"Just a change of atmosphere," I replied.

"The political atmosphere — or the love atmosphere?"

"Both," I answered.

With the self-assured tone of a policeman he said, "Come on, Yûnus, you've come to ask me about some Arab guy, isn't that right?"

"Actually I'm not in town to visit you exactly," I said. "I was asked to go to Vienna, and once I was here I phoned you to see if we could spend a wild night in the bars of Grinzing, listening to *Schrammelmusik*, and enjoying Hans Moser and his famous orchestra."

"Okay, just tell me clearly. I'm ready to help you," he said.

"Do you know Dr. Zakî Karâm?" I asked.

"That cripple?"

"Yes," I said.

And without hesitating or thinking he

responded, "He's a Turkish agent."

At ten o'clock the next morning I was in the big lobby of the Imperial Hotel. Ten minutes later I saw my friend, Herr Schabeu, enter the lobby and look to the right and left. I waved to him and he came over. Without shaking hands he said, "Let's go outside."

We got in a car and headed for the Turkish consulate.

There, in front of the entrance to the Turkish consulate at half past ten a traditional Vienna taxicab pulled up and stopped. Dr. Karâm got out carrying a briefcase bulging at the seams. As soon as Herr Schabeu saw him he bolted out of our car like lightning, overtook Karâm, and whispered some words to him that I couldn't hear. The doctor retraced his steps to our car, looking troubled and alarmed. But when he saw me he seemed reassured, and said, "Everything's okay, right? What's going on?"

I said, "I really don't know anything about it."

The doctor got into our car, his brow wet with perspiration, and asked, "So what's this story you're acting out with me?"

I said, "The matter isn't about you personally. It's about Germany."

"How am I related to Germany?" he asked.

"Like the wolf to the lamb," I said.

"What do you mean?"

Schabeu intervened, "You are working both sides of the street, the Turkish and the German, or to be more precise, you're working for the Allies."

"That's a dirty crime I'd never stoop to," he protested.

Schabeu replied, "We'll sort this out soon enough."

In a splendid suite in the Imperial Hotel in Vienna we sat, the three of us, studying each other's faces. We sat in silence, like ones beheaded. We could almost hear the powerful throb of the doctor's heartbeat. After half an hour I wanted to leave to go to my room and change my shoes, but there were two giant *Sicherheitsdienst* security service agents barring the door. When I tried to go out, a third guard standing in the middle of the hallway motioned politely for me to go back inside.

I returned and tried to interpret the face of my friend Schabeu, but it told me nothing. After a quarter hour, the double doors opened and four men, all in civilian clothes walked in. The senior one stepped forward, opened a door to an adjacent second room, and asked Dr. Karâm to please step inside. The doctor picked up his briefcase and went into the room with the four men. Schabeu and I remained alone.

An hour passed and we still waited.

As the clock struck one p.m., a German officer with the rank of lieutenant-colonel looked in on us, gave a military salute and then spoke to me in Turkish!

"I believe you can read Turkish written in the Arabic alphabet?"

I replied in the affirmative.

[Prior to the 1920s, Turkish was written in the Arabic alphabet. After the fall of the Ottoman empire, Kemal Atatürk's nationalist government banned the use of Arabic script, replacing it with a version of the Latin alphabet. Anyone studying Turkish from that time on, including presumably the German lieutenant colonel, would learn the language in the Latin alphabet. Bahrî, on the other hand, grew up and was educated in Iraq when it was still an Ottoman province, and was familiar with the older written form of Turkish. — The translator]

He said, "Please ..." and motioned us to the door through which the doctor and the four men in civilian clothing had passed earlier. There was no sign of the doctor inside, but on a massive table lay his briefcase with its contents spread out — various maps, statistics from the Todt Organization and from Hitler Youth institutions, photographs of the most important secret reports that came to us in the radio service from various commands of the German armed forces!

More noteworthy than all of this was a detailed account of all the employees of German radio's Indian, Iranian, Turkish, and Arabic services, with our pictures, addresses, telephone numbers, citizenship statuses, countries of origin, and the dates each of us had started work for German radio.

I was astonished at this mass of information about us. Even I was not privy to all this kind of detailed data about our staff.

I stared in dismay at the papers and documents. I looked at the captivating yet frightening scene and pictured to myself the delight that these rare documents would excite in the soul of whoever would take possession of them in Ankara. He would be either an American or a Briton, for Turkey would not be interested in anything about us. This proved that the Turkish capital was serving only as a "post office box" for the British and their allies.

As he handed me one of the three fat file folders that lay next to Dr. Karâm's briefcase, the German lieutenant colonel asked me, "Where did this report come from?"

I read in the Turkish written in the Arabic alphabet that the source was "Berlin, No. 21", and I wanted to read more, but he politely interrupted me, "I'd like you to stop there." Then he asked me: "Have you taken the oath?"

I told him, "I'm a German officer with the rank of captain," and I presented my military identification card, which had the authority of a diplomatic passport.

"Read, in the name of the Führer," he told me.

"Report number 63, dated December 10, 1940." I read the report in a loud voice in Turkish while the German lieutenant colonel, whose name I never learned, translated and wrote out the text in German.

Report number 63 contained a detailed description of the course of the Spanish-German negotiations concerning the future relations between the Führer and the *Caudillo* — the Spanish leader Francisco Franco — and about the [proposed] unification of Morocco by combining Tangier and the French occupied zone, together with the Khalifal areas, and placing Sultan Mohammed V, king of Morocco, and his country under a Spanish protectorate. In accordance with this arrangement, the three parts of Morocco would be transferred from French occupation to Spanish occupation. In return for this "modification" of North African politics, General Franco would commit himself to declare war on Britain and to join with the German and Italian armed forces in occupying Gibraltar and closing the Strait, or, more precisely, closing the Mediterranean Sea in Britain's face.

Report 63 was actually a collection of 15 reports that had come from different agents and sources in 15 cities, and in particular from Madrid, Rome, Paris, Tangier, and Tétouan. They had been sent to the "number 21" headquarters in Berlin, where they were studied, correlated and given their final form in the light of the private reports drawn from trusted sources.

Our work on the papers took just three hours. During that time I also took pictures of all the documents, reports and photographs. False reports that looked like the originals were inserted in the papers and folders. They brought in a briefcase that looked exactly like the doctor's, full of its contents, and sealed with the same wax seal and initials.

The German counterintelligence department, headed by Admiral Canaris, accomplished miracles of outstanding forgery so precise that they bordered on genius. The department had kept Dr. Karâm under surveillance since Hitler attacked Poland, that is since early October 1939. When I hired him to work at Berlin radio, his massive leather briefcase made Canaris's men suspicious. The doctor used to carry the big case, in spite of its weight, and despite the fact that he was of slight build, was disabled, and couldn't walk half a kilometer in an hour. So they measured his briefcase, and noted its appearance inside and out. I myself never wondered at the doctor's case, for I never knew anything about these details until after the dove had fallen into the trap ...

Indeed, it caused them to be suspicious when the doctor replaced his old briefcase with a attractive new one made of expensive pigskin. This was particularly remarkable because all types of leather were considered wartime necessities and rationed according to the Third Reich's wartime measures.

When the first four men escorted the doctor from the room where we were all sitting, they took away his original briefcase and replaced it with their own sealed copy of his case. Then, after we had done what we needed to do with his original briefcase, the duplicate one was slipped away, and his own case was returned to him, the sealed security band indicating it had never been opened.

Thus Dr. Zakî Karâm was made to feel secure. He returned to us by himself at five o'clock and told me, now with his usual voice again, "You did me wrong, Mr. Bahrî. Didn't I tell you I was innocent?"

I said, "Congratulations! Thank God for such a good outcome."

We let Dr. Karâm finish his mission quite freely and without surveillance. He was in the Austrian capital only as a "postman," after all, taking "mail," some authentic and some forged, to its addressee. And only God really knows secrets. After he had left his briefcase or "mail" in the care of the Turkish consulate, he rejoined us. We returned to Berlin, with our valuable catch, on a special military flight. Then, the next day, the doctor caught a flight for Istanbul. Altogether, Dr. Karâm spent a week on leave in Vienna and in Turkey. Then one day I heard the familiar clumping of the doctor's heavy military boot as he made his way down the long wooden hallway leading to my office.

The doctor came in and embraced me like a long lost brother. He asked, "When do I start work?"

"Doctor," I said, "the fact is, and I won't hide it from you, that here at the Arabic service we don't really need high level scientific qualifications or great scholars of the Arabic language. We need young people who want to finish their study. We help them materially to continue their education. You, on the other hand, by God's grace and by virtue of your old military exploits, have already amassed property and wealth that anyone would envy. I'm prepared to give you six months' salary as compensation."

Now, Dr. Karâm was greedier than a locust, always on the lookout for new ways to make money, to count it and to relish it. With lightning speed he calculated the sum, for he was a Turkish artillery officer and knew his math. It amounted to a mouth-watering amount.

Thus it was that the doctor's mission ended. He left the radio station for his home, where he remained under surveillance for the rest of the war. And with that we turned another page in the history of Berlin Radio's Arabic service.

International Conference Set for May

Revisionist Historians and Activists To Meet in Southern California

California's Orange County will once again be the site of the 13th Conference of the Institute for Historical Review. From around the United States and across the seas, scholars, activists and friends of the IHR will meet over Memorial Day weekend — Saturday afternoon, May 27, through Monday afternoon, May 29, 2000.

Leading revisionists will report on the latest breakthroughs in the international fight for historical truth, from the headline-grabbing Irving-Lipstadt trial in London to the growing official support for Holocaust revisionism in the Middle East, as well as on the formidable efforts of our enemies to silence debate and to outlaw dissent. As at every IHR Conference, vanguard researchers will present new findings, based on archival research, that replace "official" lies with historical fact.

Speakers will include:

• **Robert Faurisson**, Europe's foremost revisionist scholar, has never failed to delight IHR Conference attendees with his entertaining and instructive talks. He brings to the podium the insight and savvy of a scholar who was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and who served for years as a professor at the University of Lyon II. Faurisson, whose ground-breaking writings and courageous advocacy of Holocaust revisionism have resulted in academic sanctions, endless trials, and murderous assaults, will look at revisionism's recent progress, and its prospects for victory in the new century.

• **Paul (Pete) McCloskey**, former US Congressman (Rep.-Calif.), was targeted by Jewish-Zionist organizations when he spoke out against Israel's illegal use in Lebanon of American-supplied cluster bombs. More recently, he has played a major role in a class action lawsuit against the Anti-Defamation League, one of America's most powerful Jewish-Zionist organizations, for its illicit spying activities. He will speak about the ADL and its record of shadowy, underhanded operations.

• **John Sack** will detail the furor touched off by the publication of *An Eye for an Eye*, his headline-making exposé of the brutal mistreatment of ethnic Germans by Jewish Communist authorities in post-war Poland (a work that *New York* magazine called "the book they dare not review"). He will relate his

John Sack

adventures in censorship at the hands of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, his German publisher, and other enemies of open discourse. Sack, an author (of *M, Lieutenant Calley: His Story*, and *Company C*), and veteran journalist (*Esquire*, *The New Yorker*, CBS News), has covered every US war from Korea to the Gulf at the battlefront.

• **Glayde Whitney**, professor of Psychology at Florida State University, Tallahassee, will explain "How Psychology Lost Darwin," an examination of how the prevailing view of race and race relations has changed radically over the past 70 years, and why — identifying the forces behind the revolutionary shift.

• **Theodore O'Keefe**, IHR book editor, will present a devastating exposé of the legends and lies behind *Schindler's List*, the influential novel and Steven Spielberg film, and offer an intensively researched account of Oskar Schindler's actual wartime role — and its larger significance.

• **Mark Weber**, IHR Director, will present a sweeping and provocative look at the dramatic course of the 20th century history in the Conference's keynote address, in which he'll also review recent revisionist progress and outline future challenges. Later he will also give an eye-opening scholarly presentation.

• **Germar Rudolf**, a German-born certified chemist who was sentenced to 14 months imprisonment and forced into exile for his critical on-site forensic examination of the Auschwitz and Birkenau "gas chambers," will report on his headline-making work as a revisionist researcher, publisher and editor.

• **Fredrick Toben**, director of the Adelaide Institute in Australia, will provide a first-person account of his trial and seven months imprisonment in Germany for "Holocaust denial," with exciting news about the growing international support for revisionism.

Jürgen Graf addresses the Twelfth IHR Conference, September 1994.

• **Jürgen Graf**, Swiss educator, author, and researcher, will present startling new facts and insights, gleaned from long-neglected wartime records unearthed from archives in Russia and eastern Europe, as he takes a myth-busting look at the fate of Jews deported to Auschwitz who were not registered.

• **Ernst Zündel**, Canada's leading revisionist activist, and prominent German-Canadian civil rights figure, will once again delight Conference attendees in his typically irrepressible and upbeat style. Twice he was tried in Canada's two great "Holocaust trials," but ultimately vindicated. Now he'll report on the latest political and judicial effort to silence him and the California-based web site operated by Ingrid Rimland, as well as share thoughts on the recent publicity surrounding Fred Leuchter, whose forensic examination of Auschwitz he commissioned for the 1988 trial in Toronto.

• **Greg Raven**, IHR associate editor, will serve as MC, and will introduce the speakers.

• **Charles Provan**, researcher and author, will cite laboriously unearthed documents and other evidence that debunks the "testimony" of Miklos Nyiszli, a physician at Auschwitz-Birkenau whose memoir has been widely cited as proof of mass killings in gas chambers.

• **Bradley Smith**, veteran of hundreds of radio and television appearances, will bring attendees up-to-date on his work in bringing revisionist scholarship to America's colleges and universities. In his usual genial manner, Smith will tell how his ad campaign and new magazine, *The Revisionist*, have shaken up one campus after another across the country, re-enraging the traditional enemies of free speech.

• **Robert Countess**, scholar and globe-trotting revisionist ambassador, will report on important new publishing projects and current activism, including insights from his attendance at the recent international Holocaust conference in Stockholm.

As those who have attended in the past know, an IHR Conference is a unforgettable experience. It's a special opportunity to meet, hear and converse with the stalwart scholars and cutting-edge activists who are making headlines — and history — in their courageous fight to bring history into accord with the facts. It's also a wonderful occasion for making new revisionist friends from around the globe, or renewing old friendships — all in the sunny ambience of southern California.

Register Now!

Previous IHR Conference attendees can reserve a place simply by remitting the registration fee, and indicating a lodging preference. Those who have not previously attended an IHR Conference should first fill out and submit an application form — which can be obtained from the IHR office, or downloaded from the IHR web site (www.ihr.org).

The regular registration fee is $195. Attendees can bring a family member (spouse or child) for the reduced fee of $155. For students (with valid ID) the rate is $50.

The registration fee — payable by personal check, money order or Visa or MC credit card — covers all lectures and events, two buffet breakfasts, and the banquet dinner. Lunches are the attendees' own responsibly. (Several restaurants are *within* easy walking distance.)

This three-day event will be at an elegant and easily accessible hotel, with comfortable rooms and a large pool. The precise site will be announced later to registered attendees.

For those flying in from out of town, transportation to and from the nearby Orange County airport (Irvine/Santa Ana) will be available. There is ample parking for those driving in.

The special room rate for attendees who wish to stay overnight at the hotel is $80 per room (not person). For those willing to share a room (one or two beds), the rate is just $40 per person. We'll reserve your room, and help with any special requests.

Registration will begin at 3:00 pm on Saturday

afternoon, May 27. The Conference will commence promptly at 6:00 pm, run all day Sunday into the evening, and adjourn at about 3:00 pm on Monday afternoon.

Questions? Phone us at 949 - 631 1490. Fax: 949 - 631 0980. E-mail: ihr@ihr.org

Sponsored by the Institute for Historical Review, the Conference is a private meeting. We reserve the right to refuse admission to anyone.

Robert Faurisson and Michael Shermer, editor of *Skeptic* magazine, exchange views during a break at the 12th IHR Conference.

Visit www.ihr.org

IHR Internet Web Site Offers Worldwide Access to Revisionism

On its own Internet web site, **www.ihr.org**, the Institute for Historical Review makes available an impressive selection of IHR material, including dozens of IHR *Journal* articles and reviews. It also includes a listing of every item that has ever appeared in this *Journal*, as well as the complete texts of *The Zionist Terror Network*, "The Leuchter Report," and Kulaszka's encyclopedic work *Did Six Million Really Die?*. New material is added as time permits.

Key words can be located in any of the site's items using a built-in search capability.

Through the IHR web site, revisionist scholarship is instantly available to millions of computer users worldwide, free of censorship by governments or powerful special interest groups. It can be reached 24 hours a day from around the globe through the World Wide Web (WWW), a multimedia Internet service.

Interest in the IHR web site has grown steadily over the past year. It's recently been receiving in excess of 3,000 "hits" or "visits" per day.

Journal associate editor Greg Raven maintains and operates this site as its "web master." Because it is linked to several other revisionist (and anti-revisionist) web sites, visitors can easily access vast amounts of additional information.

The IHR web site address is
http://www.ihr.org
E-mail messages can be sent to
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Media Coverage of the Irving-Lipstadt Trial

COMPILED BY GREG RAVEN

Even before it began on January 11, 2000, the libel trial in London's High Court of Justice brought by historian David Irving against Jewish activist Deborah Lipstadt and her British publisher had attracted a good bit of attention. And since then it has generated considerable media coverage and commentary, not only in Britain, but around the world.

At the core of the case is Lipstadt's 1993 book, Denying the Holocaust, *a polemical broadside against those who dispute Holocaust extermination claims. Her attacks against Irving, who she calls "one of the most dangerous spokespersons for Holocaust denial," include demonstrably false statements.*

In addition to her book, Lipstadt has played a major role in the ongoing international endeavor to silence those who challenge Holocaust orthodoxy — a campaign that has effectively blacklisted Irving among "mainstream" publishers. (See also "A British Historian Defends His Livelihood and Honor" in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 Journal, *with the complete text of Irving's Opening Statement. Much more detailed information about the case, including texts of important trial documents, can be found on Irving's web site: http://www.fpp.co.uk)*

As the following excerpts from press reports and commentary on the case show, this non-jury trial has shaped up as a major battle over "Holocaust denial" and, more broadly, the Holocaust extermination story itself. The headings given here are the original article headlines. Brief explanatory or elucidating remarks have been added in brackets.

Taking a Holocaust Skeptic Seriously

D. D. Guttenplan

The New York Times, June 26, 1999

... British writer David Irving's books have been praised by some of the most eminent scholars in his field. The military historian John Keegan, who says Irving "knows more than anyone alive about the German side of the Second World War," considers his work "indispensable to anyone seeking to understand the war in the round." Gordon Craig, a leading scholar of German history at Stanford University, also calls Irving's work "indispensable." He adds, "I always learn something from him."

Shoah Showdown

Elli Wohlgelernter

Jerusalem Post, September 24, 1999

... Others see in the trial an inherent danger, fearing it will in effect put the entire Nazi operation on trial. Should that happen, then the slightest legal infraction could lead to a judgment that would reward Irving with a technical victory, one he would be sure to exploit to further his agenda.

"That's always the danger,' said Efraim Zuroff, head of the Simon Wiesenthal Center's Israel office. 'The court is going to deal with facts regarding events that obviously took place, and there is a theoretical possibility that the verdict could in some way diminish those crimes, or question those crimes.

Deborah Lipstadt

"It seems unlikely, but every time you go to court there is always the danger of losing a case. Any victory for Irving, any defeat for Deborah Lipstadt on any major point, will be a loss for truth and historical accuracy."

... this trial will dwarf all the others, because of its location, its adversaries, and what it portends for the future.

Zuroff said that what marks this trial is that "the stakes are much higher because of Irving, because of who he is, and the charges.

"This is not a perpetrator saying it didn't happen, nor a survivor saying it did happen — these are people who are historians, the people who deal with the events rather than the people who lived through the events. This is the beginning of the future. It would not be surprising if such cases don't happen again and again."

[ADL director Abraham] Foxman, himself a lawyer, said that bringing the Holocaust to trial "is always a very, very uncomfortable and problematic issue, because those of us who are lawyers and who have experience with the law know that frequently

'the law is an ass,' and that decisions can come down on procedural matters which may be spun as a win or a loss which has nothing to do with the essence of the case."

Emory's Deborah Lipstadt Prepares to do Battle with Holocaust Denier David Irving

Steven H. Pollak

Atlanta Jewish Times, October 8, 1999

... Irving's chances for success are enhanced in the United Kingdom, where the burden of proof required in libel suits places the defendant at a disadvantage. Lipstadt's co-defendant is her publishing house, Penguin Books, Ltd.

... "The bottom line is, it's much easier to win a defamation action in England than it is in the United States," said Lee. "That's probably why this suit was brought in England rather than the United States."

... For his part, Irving said he is the object of hatred by Jewish and other organizations bent on destroying his legitimacy as a historian. He prefers the term "revisionist" to describe his views on the Holocaust. He may have chosen to bring a lawsuit against Lipstadt in England because her book was published there.

"Lipstadt may find it unfortunate that she is the one to be taken out of the line and shot," he said via e-mail from Key West, Fla. "The fact is that Lipstadt was silly enough to print her libels within the jurisdiction of the British courts. Others have been more circumspect."

Danger in Denying Holocaust?

Kim Murphy

Los Angeles Times, January 7, 2000

... Over the last decade, supporters of [revisionist] theories have scrutinized hundreds of thousands of pages of Third Reich documents and diaries made available after the collapse of the Soviet Union. They have analyzed gas chamber construction. They have pinpointed contradictions and hard-to-believe details in stories told by camp survivors and, amid nearly universal scorn from the academic establishment, won testimonials for some of their work from academics at respected institutions, such as Northwestern University and the University of Lyon.

... For Irving, who is regarded in some mainstream quarters as one of the premier documentarians of the Third Reich, it is an issue of professional vindication. It is no accident, he says, that he has been banned from even entering Canada, Italy, Germany and Austria because of Holocaust denial laws in those countries. "They regard me as dangerous,

David Irving speaking at the Twelfth IHR Conference (Sept. 1994)

and the word 'dangerous' puzzles me," he said. "I don't go around punching people in the face.... 'Dangerous' can only mean dangerous to their interests, either in the long term or the short term.

"In the end, it isn't really a question of whether it's 6 million or only 1 million" Jews who died. "I think the figures have been inflated, and the significance of the inflation is that the Jewish community is trying to make out that their suffering is unique in its grandeur and the methods applied to achieve it. And it wasn't. It was just one of the many barbarisms committed under the cloak of war."

Some revisions in Holocaust history have been generally accepted. Stories that Jewish remains were manufactured into soap and lampshades have been dismissed as myth. There were, most historians now agree, no human gassings at Dachau. Deaths at Auschwitz, once estimated, based on the testimony of Nazi commanders, at up to 3 million have been scaled back to about 1.1 million. Even the widely accepted figure of 6 million Jewish dead all over Europe has been questioned in recent years by some of the world's most prominent Holocaust scholars.

Raul Hilberg and Robert Jan van Pelt, two of the

leading authorities, now believe the figure is probably closer to 5.1 million.

... "I think, by the end of this case, the word 'scholarship' will come to stink," Irving predicts. "Scholars tend to award that accolade to each other. And their scholarship usually consists of sitting in libraries reading each others' books."

... Yet Irving has his admirers as well. Christopher Hitchens, writing of Irving's work in *Vanity Fair*, called him "not just a Fascist historian, [but] ... also a great historian of Fascism." Gordon A. Craig, considered the dean of German historians, acknowledged that Irving has been an "annoyance" but said: "The fact is that he knows more about national socialism than most professional scholars in his field." His book on Hitler, Craig said, "remains the best study we have of the German side of the Second World War."

"I can deal with Himmler. I can deal with Höss. There's a certain kind of naive honesty in what they do, however evil it is," van Pelt said. "But the contortions and complete fabrications of these deniers is obscene."

Holocaust on Trial in London

Douglas Davis

Jerusalem Post, January 11,2000

... Inside the austere Court 37, Lipstadt and Irving will spend much of the next three months in a detailed battle for the soul of the Holocaust, a battle which British Jewish historian Prof. David Cesarani this week described as "one of the most gripping of modern times."

"The consequences for both parties will be enormous," noted Cesarani, "and the consequences will reverberate far and wide."

Trial Pits Revisionist against Holocaust Scholar

Douglas Davis

Jewish Telegraphic Agency, January 11, 2000

... "I don't see any reason to be tasteful about Auschwitz," [Lipstadt defense attorney Richard] Rampton quoted Irving as saying. "It's baloney. It's a legend.

"Once we admit the fact that it was a brutal slave labor camp and a large number of people did die, as large numbers of people died elsewhere in the war, why believe the rest of the baloney?

"I say quite tastelessly, in fact, that more women died on the back seat of Edward Kennedy's car at Chappaquiddick than ever died in a gas chamber in Auschwitz."

Historians' Views Clash in Court

Bert Roughton Jr.

Atlanta Journal-Constitution, January 12, 2000

... A maverick British historian testified Tuesday that a book written by an Emory University professor was part of an international conspiracy to silence him and end his attempts to challenge conventional understandings of the Holocaust.

... Irving said that Lipstadt's use of the phrase "Holocaust denier" to describe him has been deeply damaging.

"It is a poison to which there is virtually no antidote," he said. "It is like being called a wife-beater or a pedophile. It is enough for the label to be attached, for the attachee to find himself designated as a pariah, an outcast from normal society. It is a verbal Yellow Star.

"Far from being a 'Holocaust denier,' I have repeatedly drawn attention to major aspects of the Holocaust," he said.

Irving, who stated in a 1977 book that Hitler was unaware of the mass slaughter of Jews until 1943, said the term "Holocaust" is meaningless.

"The word 'Holocaust' is an artificial label commonly attached to one of the greatest and still most unexplained tragedies of this past century," he said.

In his view, Auschwitz was a slave labor camp but not a death camp. He argues that gas chambers at the camp were built after the war.

Holocaust-based Libel Suit Opens in British Court

Ray Moseley

Chicago Tribune, January 12, 2000

British historian David Irving and American professor Deborah Lipstadt confronted each other Tuesday in a British court face-off that has drawn worldwide attention to Irving's attempts to cast doubt on the Nazi Holocaust.

Irving, who has questioned whether 6 million Jews were killed by the Nazis and has sought to absolve Adolf Hitler of responsibility for the Holocaust, has brought a libel suit against Lipstadt.

... Irving said he was able to pursue the expensive libel action only because of contributions from 4,000 supporters around the world. His opponents say he is being bankrolled by right-wing extremists, mainly Americans.

Historian Lied about Holocaust, Libel Trial Told

Neil Tweedie

Daily Telegraph (London), January 12, 2000

The controversial British historian David Irving claimed he was the victim of an "organized interna-

tional endeavour" to destroy his career at the opening of a libel trial in London yesterday.

... The case is likely to prove one of the most emotive seen in an English libel court in recent years, taking one of the greatest human tragedies of the 20th century as its subject matter. Journalists from Israel, Germany and America crowded into the High Court for the beginning of the trial, which opened with vitriolic attacks from both sides.

'To Put It Bluntly, Mr. Irving Is a Liar'

Neil Tweedie

Daily Telegraph (London), January 12, 2000

... Mr. Irving said at Calgary, Alberta, in September 1991: "I don't see any reason to be tasteful about Auschwitz. It's baloney, it's a legend. I say quite tastelessly, in fact, that more women died on the back seat of Edward Kennedy's car at Chappaquiddick than ever died in a gas chamber in Auschwitz.

"Oh, you think that's tasteless, how about this? There are so many Auschwitz survivors going around, in fact the number increases as the years go past, which is biologically very odd. Because I'm going to form an Association of Auschwitz survivors, survivors of the Holocaust and other liars, or the ASSHOLS."

'Claims Are Like Being Called a Pedophile'

Neil Tweedie

Daily Telegraph (London), January 12, 2000

... Holocaust deniers "has become one of the most potent phrases in the arsenal of insult, replacing the N-word, the F-word, and a whole alphabet of other slurs ..." Mr. Irving said. The judge would undoubtedly hear from the defendants, he said, that he was fined a very substantial sum of money by the German Government.

"It is no matter for shame for me, although it has had catastrophic consequences, as it now makes me de facto 'a convict', with a criminal record and as such liable to a concatenation of further indignities and sanctions in every foreign country which I now wish to visit." It arose from a remark made during an address he made to an audience in Munich in 1990 — "We now know that the gas chamber shown to the tourists at Auschwitz is a fake built by the Poles after the war, just like the one established by the Americans at Dachau."

Mr. Irving said: "This may well raise eyebrows. It might be found to be offensive by sections of the community and if they take such offense, I can assure this court that I regret it and that such was not my intention. The fact remains that these remarks were true; the Poles admitted it in January 1995 and under English law truth has always been regarded as an absolute defense."

Academic Buccaneer vs Bookish Schoolmaster

Alan Hamilton

The Times (London), January 12, 2000

... What is at stake here is not the *amour-propre* of individuals with grossly inflated egos. Rather it is whether one of the blackest chapters of 20th-century history actually happened, or is a figment of politically motivated Jewry.

... In the absence of a jury, the case has been allotted one of the High Court's smaller and less imposing arenas, where every spare seat is taken by representatives of the British, US and Jewish press.

Mass Gassing of Jews Not Feasible, Says Irving

Neil Tweedie

Daily Telegraph (London), January 13, 2000

David Irving, the historian, denied yesterday that millions of Jews were systematically murdered in the gas chambers during the Second World War.

Giving evidence in a libel action, Mr. Irving claimed that the mass gassing of Jews by the Nazis was not possible, and that there was no evidence of a systematic programme of extermination sanctioned by Adolf Hitler. The 62-year-old author said he had removed the word Holocaust from the second edition of his book *Hitler's War* because the term was too vague and imprecise.

... Yesterday Mr. Irving, who is representing himself, went into the witness box for cross-examination by Richard Rampton, QC, the counsel for Prof Lipstadt and Penguin. The historian stood by comments he made in Calgary in 1991 in which he claimed that the gassing of millions of Jews in "factories of death" was "just a legend".

... When asked if he believed that Jews had been gassed in great numbers in the Treblinka and Sobibor concentration camps, Mr. Irving said he had no evidence of it. He said: "I deny that it was possible to liquidate millions of people in the gas chambers." Mr. Irving also put the number of Jewish dead at between one million and four million, as opposed to the generally accepted figure of six million.

... Mr. Irving said that like most fellow Englishmen of his background and age he regretted the passing of "the old England". He said: "I sometimes think that if the soldiers and sailors of the Normandy beaches in 1944 could have seen what England was like at the end of the century, they would not have got 50 yards up the beach. They would have given up in disgust."

Irving Says Holocaust 'Logistically Impossible'

Michael Horsnell
The Times (London), January 13, 2000

The Hitler historian, David Irving, denied yesterday that the Nazis killed millions of Jews in concentration-camp gas chambers. The SS may have had gassing experiments, he said, but such mass murder was logistically impossible.

Mr. Irving, 62, said that the massacre of Jews — as occurred in the East when Germany invaded Russia — was by shooting, but was without the knowledge of Adolf Hitler and was not part of any systematic extermination by the Third Reich.

... "There was a time when he was on the right course and then went off the rails," he said. "You can't praise his racial program or penal methods. But he did pick up his nation out of the mire after World War I, reunified it and gave it a sense of pride again."

... Was it six million who died in one of the blackest chapters of 20th-century history? "A lot of the numbers are very suspect," the historian said. The judge put it to him: "It's said against you that you tried to blame what was done against the Jews by the Third Reich on Jews themselves." Mr. Irving replied: "I have said on a number of occasions that if I was a Jew, I would be far more concerned not at who pulled the trigger, but why. Anti-Semitism is a recurring malaise in society. There must be some reason why anti-Semitic groups break out like some kind of epidemic."

Mr. Rampton asked him: "Do you accept that the Nazis killed by one means or another — murdered, hanged, put to death — millions of people during World War II?" "Yes," Mr. Irving said. "I hesitate to speculate. It was certainly more than one million, certainly less than four million." Mr. Rampton: "Do you deny the Nazis killed millions of Jews in gas chambers in purpose-built establishments?"

Mr. Irving: "Yes, it's logistically impossible." He added: "One million people weigh 100,000 tons — it's a major logistical problem. I deny that it was possible to liquidate millions of people in gas chambers as presented by historians so far." Asked about the Holocaust, the historian said: "I find the word is misleading and unhelpful. It's too vague, imprecise and unscientific and should be avoided like the plague."

Pressed on his own definition of the Holocaust, he said that although tragedy befell the Jews it "was the whole of the Second World War and the people who died were not just Jews but Gypsies and homosexuals, the people of Coventry and the people of Hiroshima." Asked how many innocent Jewish people he thought the Germans had killed deliberately, Mr. Irving brought up the name of Anne Frank, who died of disease in a camp at the age of 15. "She was a Jew who died in the Holocaust and she wasn't murdered unless you take it in the broadest sense."

... He maintained that he had never knowingly or wilfully misrepresented any document nor suppressed information that did not support his case and said that he always passed the information he gathered to other historians.

... This libel trial, dealing with one of the most controversial and complex episodes of the past century, is expected to take at least three months. Both sides will call a host of eminent historians. "The documentary evidence will be enormous," one lawyer said. Neither side opposed the judge's suggestion, made before the trial, to dispense with a jury.

Irving in Court: Aspects of Shoah 'Debatable'

Lee Levitt
Jewish Chronicle (London), January 14, 2000

Historian David Irving questioned the extent of the Holocaust as his libel action against an American academic continued in the High Court this week.

... he told the packed court: "I am prepared to deny the possibility that the Nazis liquidated millions of people in gas chambers."

Misleading, Inaccurate, Distorted, and Uninformed Reporting

Michael Berenbaum
The Jewish Journal (Los Angeles), January 14, 2000

... Professor Yehuda Bauer and I, among others, did not find evidence that remains of the dead were manufactured into soap. And when we could not, we published our findings. Each bar of soap given to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum was tested to see if it contained human remains. Since it didn't, we said so. We are the servants of the truth.

Getting it Very Wrong

Tom Tugend
The Jewish Journal (Los Angeles), January 14, 2000

... To survivors and experts on the Holocaust, there is little doubt that the [Los Angeles] *Times* and reporter Kim Murphy gave credence to the lies of the deniers in the name of journalistic impartiality.

"It is a sign of immaturity, and inexperience on the reporter's part, to try and balance everything, because there are some things that can't be balanced," says Arthur Stern, a veteran of Bergen-Belsen and a Jewish Federation lay leader.

"I fear that at some point in the future, every-

thing reported about the Nazi regime will be gray, and nothing will any longer be black and white," he adds.

Rabbi Abraham Cooper, associate dean of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, faults the *Times*' report on the same basis, and also charges that the article suffered from a glaring omission.

"The reporter left out the most crucial element, namely the confessions of the war criminals themselves," says Cooper. "The Nazis left an extensive paper trail and there are any number of quotes and statements by Himmler, Goebbels and Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss, clearly documenting the extent of the Holocaust."

To Harold Schulweis, author and rabbi, of Valley Beth Shalom, denial of the Holocaust is "the ultimate obscenity ... like poking in the cremated ashes of a loved one.

"What is the motivation behind saying that Jews died 'only' of starvation and typhus, but not gassing? It's like telling a person after a terrible tragedy to cheer up," he observes.

... "How can you even discuss whether 6 million or 5.1 million Jews were killed?", asked survivor and business leader Nathan Shapell. "After all these years, for a newspaper like the *Los Angeles Times* to print such an article is ridiculous."

... Whatever the impact of the *Times* article, it will be eclipsed in the next few months by the London trial of a libel suit by revisionist David Irving against Holocaust historian Deborah Lipstadt.

This courtroom drama, notes the Jerusalem Post, is expected to be the most highly publicized Holocaust trial since Adolf Eichmann's in 1961.

The paper cites the view of the eminent Israeli historian Yehuda Bauer of Yad Vashem, who sees the trial as a wonderful chance to debunk the deniers.

... Others are less sanguine, fearing that the slightest legal infraction could lead to a judgment that would reward Irving with a technical victory.

[David] Lehrer [regional director of the Anti-Defamation League] ... shares the concern. "There is always a possibility, especially under British libel laws, of losing a case on a technicality."

England: Irving Case Continues

Cathy Gordon and Jan Colley
Press Association News, January 13, 2000

Controversial historian David Irving today dramatically revealed that the German government was seeking his extradition for alleged racial incitement.

The 62-year-old author told the High Court in London that it was another example of "the kind of hatred I face and the problems I face because of the repugnant allegations against me".

... After the end of today's sitting, Mr. Irving told the media that the controversy arose over a comment he made during a talk at Weinheim that the gas chambers at Auschwitz were a fake and built after the war. Such a statement was a criminal offense in Germany, he said.

He said he was fined the equivalent of £15,000 in 1992 for making the same statement in Munich in 1990. He was also banned from Germany.

The extradition proceedings revealed in court today were launched in August 1998, said Mr. Irving. No attempt had been made to serve the warrant against him, but the British Government had agreed to co-operate with Germany.

CNN Reports

Charles Glass
CNN television, January 16, 2000

... Next on CNN & TIME, historian David Irving and the Holocaust. Some of his views on the subject may surprise you ...

... GLASS: Don Guttenplan is a journalist writing a book about Irving versus Lipstadt.

GUTTENPLAN: In this case, what he's done is kind of use the libel law as a kind of jujitsu to force her to prove not only that what she said about him is true, but since she says that his views about the Holocaust are nonsensical, she has to prove that they're nonsensical.

... DAVID CESARANI, DIR., WIENER LIBRARY: We now have in the Moscow archives the building plans, the orders for the gas chamber and crematory equipment. This is not to mention the sworn statements taken by Nazis in captivity at the end of the Second World War, and of course, the mass of statements by the survivors.

... IRVING: I'm interested to see if in this coming trial here in London they find the documents and they produce them to the satisfaction of this court that do prove me wrong. And if they prove me wrong, I'll smile sheepishly and say, well done, fellows. It's taken you 40 years.

Last Battle of Hitler's Historians

Neal Ascherson
The Observer (London), January 16, 2000

... if Irving were to win this case, the impact would be far greater than damages. At the last possible moment, his reputation as a credible historian would be salvaged. His version of Hitler and the Holocaust would be given a degree of plausibility.

... Once, in a bout with Rampton over whether the Führer had ordered the extermination of the Jews, David Irving reminded him that no signed

order had been found. That, said Rampton, was just negative evidence. Noisily, Irving retorted: "I have to remind you of the basic principle of English law that a man is innocent until he is proved guilty: am I right?"

And at that second there was a tiny stillness in Court 37. We were talking about Adolf Hitler.

Nazi Trains Carried Ample Food for Jews, Says Irving

Daily Telegraph (London), January 18, 2000

The image of the Holocaust was dented by the fact that trains carrying Jews to concentration camps were "well-provisioned," David Irving, the historian, said in the High Court yesterday.

A telegram message about a transportation of 944 Jews from Berlin to Lithuania on Nov. 17, 1941, decoded by British intelligence at Bletchley Park, Bucks, showed that there was 24 days' worth of food on board for the three-day journey.

"It's a bit of a dent, a tiny dent in the image we have of the Holocaust today," said the 62-year-old author of *Hitler's War.*

It went against the accepted image of victims stuffed into cattle trucks and shipped across Europe with no food or water, to arrive half dead. In fact, he added, intercepted messages indicated that the trains were equipped with a "very substantial amount of food" to keep the Jews going for three weeks after their arrival and their appliances or "tools of the trade".

The Battle to Control the Memory of the Shoah

David Cesarani

The Guardian (London), January 18, 2000

At times during his legal battle in the high court, David Irving, a man of natural military bearing, resembles a beleaguered Wehrmacht general in some god-forsaken pocket on the eastern front, desperately trying to beat off the Jewish-Bolshevik hordes....

He stands or sits alone on one side of the courtroom, while the large defense team occupies most of the rest of it. In his opening statement he referred several times to the existence of an "international endeavor" to destroy his name and career as a writer.... Bizarre as they may be, these accusations ... may feed into the growing backlash against the so-called 'Holocaust industry' which, for very different reasons, is taking hold in mainstream media and academic circles.

... Earlier in the year the announcement that the Imperial War Museum North was planning a joint venture with the Manchester Shoah Centre provoked Brian Sewell in the *Evening Standard* to condemn the 'bandwagon' effect. 'Can we not say to the Jews of Manchester,' he asked, 'that enough has been made of their Holocaust and they are too greedy for our memories.'

Most recently, Sam Schulman in the *Spectator* warned that 'a new kind of anti-Semitism may emerge in the 21st century, in reaction to the attempt to make 'the Holocaust' central to our civilisation.'...

In 1999, Tim Cole, a British academic responsible for ground-breaking research on the wartime Budapest ghetto, published *Images of the Holocaust: the Myth of the 'Shoah Business,'* which slammed the redemptive and kitschy representation of the Holocaust seen in films and museums the world over. He dubbed this, perhaps foolishly, the 'myth' of the Holocaust.

... But Cole singles out the use of exhibitions and memorials to combat Holocaust denial. "Museums such as the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and movies such as 'Schindler's List' have as a self-conscious goal not simply teaching the public lessons from the past, but also the aim of disproving the claims of those who deny the Holocaust."

In his eyes this is a mistake, since "it amounts to attempting to counter the questioning of the reality of the 'Holocaust' by offering in its place a representation of the 'Holocaust' which only tends to blur the critical distinction between reality and representation." Worse, it's self-defeating: "It was not until it emerged as an iconic event that it was perceived to be an event which was deemed to be worth denying." Memorialization provokes denial.

The intellectual backlash has been more prominent and problematic in the US. Next month will see the publication in Britain of *The Holocaust In American Life* by the respected US historian Peter Novick, in which he maintains that "it was Jewish initiative that put the Holocaust on the American agenda"....

Denial Denial

George Szamuely

New York Press, January 18, 2000

... Irving is a scholar of enormous energy and dedication. He has published innumerable works, most of which have been praised by leading historians of the period....

This cuts no ice with our cultural vigilantes who would spoon-feed us what information they think we need. Back in March 1996, St. Martin's Press was looking forward to bringing out his book, *Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich*....

The book would have been a fascinating read. But it was not to be. Abraham H. Foxman of the

Anti-Defamation League led the charge of the pious bullies....

The usual crowd of smelly little orthodoxies immediately chimed in.... Lipstadt herself made the sonorous announcement: "In the Passover Haggadah, it says in every generation there are those who rise up to destroy us ... David Irving is not physically destroying us, but is trying to destroy the memory of those who have already perished at the hands of tyrants." The onslaught in the media was followed by death threats to the publisher.

Inevitably, St. Martin's caved and withdrew the book from publication. Irving is right to be upset that an influential minority with a political agenda succeeded in destroying his career.... Irving is also right to be outraged by the promiscuous use of the phrase "Holocaust denial." As Lipstadt uses the term, it means whatever she wants it to mean. If you believe that fewer than six million died, are you still a Holocaust denier? Are you a Holocaust denier if you have questions about the precise means of death? In *Denying the Holocaust*, Lipstadt wrote that Pat Buchanan's "attacks on the credibility of survivor' testimony are standard elements of Holocaust denial." Yet, a few years ago the director of Yad Vashem's archive told a reporter that most of the 20,000 testimonies it had collected were unreliable: "Many were never in the places where they claim to have witnessed atrocities, while others relied on secondhand information given them by friends or passing strangers." Is he also then a "Holocaust denier"?

We now know that many of the most lurid stories of the Holocaust are not true. Jews were never made into soap. Jewish skin was not used to make lampshades. Deaths at Auschwitz, once estimated at around four million, have been scaled back to about 1.1 million. There were no gassings at Dachau. Holocaust scholars no longer accept the six-million-Jewish-dead figure; two leading figures — Raul Hilberg and Robert Jan van Pelt — believe the figure is probably closer to 5.1 million. Is this Holocaust denial or merely addition to our knowledge?...

Whether Irving wins or loses his libel case, we will probably find out that our current knowledge of the Holocaust is much flimsier than we had believed. Today, David Irving is banned from entering Canada, Australia and Germany. If our politically correct globalists have their way, he will probably be banned here and everywhere else as well soon. Why? Irving is a scholar, not a criminal. There is something contemptible about democracies terrified of anyone challenging their prevailing pieties. Outlawing him only serves to make him look good and our rulers shabby.

Philosophy of Hate Has No Room for Truth

Alan Gold

Sydney Morning Herald (Australia), January 18, 2000

... Irving denies Hitler knew anything of the Holocaust. So does Australia's Fred Toben. And Ernst Zündel in Canada. And Arthur Butz and Fred Leuchter in America. And Robert Faurisson in France. And lots of others.

... Deniers like Irving, Toben and the rest are using the Internet to recruit and promote themselves to a vast audience.

... Extremists on both sides of the political divide have adopted the Internet as their preferred medium of communication, but by far the largest number of Web sites propagating denialism and racial vilification are owned by the far right-wing.

... The Internet is a dream come true for today's historical revisionists. No longer do they have to find a mainstream publisher willing to print their words; nor do they have to rely on the limitations of handing out leaflets on street corners.

Alan Gold is a novelist whose latest book, Berlin Song, *deals with issues of denialism and the Holocaust.*

Irving Insists that Hitler Did Not Order the Holocaust

Tim Jones

The Times (London), January 19, 2000

The historian David Irving refused to accept yesterday that hundreds of thousands of Jews had been sent to concentration camps as part of Hitler's plan to exterminate them.

His denial that the liquidation of Jews was part of a plan personally approved by the Führer came during a sharp exchange with Richard Rampton, QC, during a libel case at the High Court in London.

Referring to the transportation of Jews from Warsaw and other towns and cities to the villages of Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec, near the Russian border, Mr. Rampton suggested that "only a fool and a liar" would suggest that they were being sent there for their health.

... Mr. Irving, 62, who is conducting his own case, replied: "There could be any number of convincing explanations, from the most innocent to the most sinister."

He added: "During World War II large numbers of people were sent to Aldershot but no one believes that there they were put into gas chambers."

In another exchange, Mr. Irving said he could not accept that 1.2 million Jews had been deliberately murdered at the Auschwitz concentration camp.

Mr. Irving, who maintains that the gas chamber at Auschwitz was built by the Poles after the war as a tourist attraction, said: "I don't accept that and I have good reason not to."

He indicated that he would justify his belief about what occurred at the infamous camp when he cross-examines Holocaust experts who are to appear in court during the course of the trial, which is expected to last for more than two months.

Speaking from the witness box in Court 73, in front of a packed public gallery in which there were many Jewish people, Mr. Irving maintained that Hitler had not been aware of the mass slaughter of the Jews. He said that in the records of the so-called "table talks" between Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, the head of the SS, and Joseph Goebbels, his Propaganda Minister, there was no evidence that the Führer knew of the "Final Solution."

Even in 1942, Mr. Irving said, Hitler was talking in terms of shipping the Jews to the island of Madagascar to begin new lives but that operation could not be carried out because of the naval war.

Hitler, he said, did not want the Jews transported to Siberia, which would merely toughen up the strain of the Jewish "bacillus." He wished them to be removed totally from the Greater Reich.

Mr. Irving said that during the conversations, at which Hitler and his henchmen had discussed the course of the war, there was no suggestion that the Jews should be systematically killed.

Mr. Irving, who accepts that hundreds of thousands of Jews were murdered but denies that the killings were part of a systematic programme of extermination, accused Mr. Rampton of disregarding evidence which did not concur with his case.

Herald Sun Regrets Poll

Mark Briskin

Australian Jewish News, January 21, 2000

Melbourne's *Herald Sun* newspaper has acknowledged that a poll asking readers whether they supported David Irving's views of the Holocaust was "ill-conceived".

The question which appeared in last Friday's edition read. "Do you agree with David Irving's view of the Holocaust?" and invited readers to respond via a "Yes" or "No" phone number. However a poll result did not appear in the following paper.

The reader poll accompanied a story about the David Irving libel trial currently before the courts in London.

Herald Sun deputy editor John Trevorrow said, "The question was ill-conceived and shouldn't have been asked. With a question like that you're allowing for the possibility that you agree with David Irving's view on the Holocaust i.e., that it didn't happen, that it was a conspiracy, which is clearly not something the *Herald Sun* wants to be associated with. It was a mistake to ask that question."

Jewish Holocaust Museum and Research Centre President Shmuel Rosenkranz said, "The question was simply do you believe Mr. Irving or don't you? It Is absolutely ridiculous to put such a question when there is sufficient evidence that the Holocaust did take place. There is sufficient evidence that Mr. Irving is a Holocaust denier par-excellence." He believed the question could give Holocaust denial legitimacy.

Australia Israel Jewish Affairs Council National Chairman Mark Leibler said that making Holocaust denial the subject of questionnaire conferred an inordinate sense of legitimacy to the issue. "It is insensitive to the many Holocaust survivors who live here. It's offensive I would have thought to all Australians of whatever shade or complexion or ethnic background and it's just simply not appropriate."

B'nai Brith Anti-Defamation Commission Executive Director Danny Ben-Moshe said he received several complaints that the poll reflected a lack of understanding about the nature of Holocaust denial and individuals such as David Irving.

"This is a very good example of the way something like Holocaust denial can sort of slip in there. In this particular way, it is a different form of racist hate to deal with, so the educational role we have to play is going to be more not less."

He added, "I think under the circumstances while its original publication was abhorrent and completely unacceptable, it was, dealt with in the most appropriate way."

Mr. Trevorrow said that the individual responsible for the poll had been admonished that the newspaper did not print the results as it wanted nothing more to do with the issue. "The best thing was not to air the subject any further," he said.

New Twists on History

Dennis Roddy

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, January 22, 2000

... As the libel trial enters its third week, Irving promises fresh proofs that Auschwitz had no gas chambers, evidence he'll unleash when he gets one of Lipstadt's expert witnesses on the stand.

"The battleship Auschwitz as the capital ship of the Holocaust legend will have sunk," Irving assures me.

Defender of Hitler Sues Critics — and Puts Holocaust on Trial

Ray Moseley

Chicago Tribune, January 23, 2000

... Even his critics acknowledge that Irving is the most scholarly of the Holocaust deniers, and few people have searched the wartime archives as thoroughly — and benefited as well from the recollections and diaries of old Nazis whom he befriended.

His memory is prodigious. Rampton produces relatively obscure archival documents, and Irving rattles on at length about minor Nazi bureaucrats mentioned in them, or says with great confidence this is a document he has never seen.

... During one break in the proceedings, a woman accosts him and says her parents were gassed at Auschwitz.

"You may be pleased to know that they almost certainly died of typhus, as did Anne Frank," Irving replies.

Cyanide Was 'Used to Kill Lice' Claims Irving

Michael Horsnell

The Times (London), January 24, 2000

Traces of cyanide in human hair recovered from Auschwitz and on metal ventilation grilles over the concentration camp's gas chambers were evidence of a delousing program by the Nazis and not of mass extermination, David Irving, the Hitler historian, said yesterday.

Mr. Irving told a High Court judge that the SS used the gas chambers simply to fumigate bodies and clothing and hair shorn after death from inmates of the Polish concentration camp in the face of a plague of lice.

... Yesterday Mr. Irving said that he stood by the man whose work had persuaded him that mass extermination never took place at Auschwitz. Fred Leuchter, a consultant in the design of execution facilities in America, had visited the camp in 1988 on behalf of a German, Ernst Zündel, who was on trial in Canada for publishing material that denied the existence of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz.

Holocaust Skeptic Admits Use of Flawed Evidence

Bert Roughton Jr.

Atlanta Journal-Constitution, January 25, 2000

... David Irving said he still believes no Jews were gassed at Auschwitz because he is unimpressed with evidence supporting the traditional account. "We are entitled to at least one unambiguous, not read-between-the-lines, document that would give us a clear smoking gun," Irving testified Monday. "That document does not exist."

... When asked about the overwhelming body of documents, physical evidence and eyewitness accounts of the mass killings at the infamous Nazi concentration camp, Irving said he did not accept the conclusion that Nazis systemically killed as many as 2 million Jews in gas chambers at the camp and then burned their bodies in specially built furnaces.

"No, I don't agree with this," Irving said. "There are other arguments that are just as plausible."

Irving, who has never visited Auschwitz, said it was more likely the structures identified as gas chambers were used as air raid shelters or as places to administer poison gas to corpses to kill typhus-carrying fleas and lice.

Auschwitz Had No Gas Chambers, Says Historian

Daily Telegraph (London), January 27, 2000

Eyewitness evidence of the existence of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz was "totally demolished" because there were no holes in the roof through which to insert poison, the historian David Irving told the High Court yesterday.

Mr. Irving, the 62-year-old author of *Hitler's War*, who is seeking libel damages for being called a "Holocaust denier," said his theory "blows holes in the whole gas chambers story." He said a number of "revisionist" researchers had entered the ruins of Crematorium Two at Auschwitz, in which Holocaust historians say 500,000 died.

They photographed the collapsed underside of the roof but found no holes. He said: "I do not accept that the Nazis, in the last frantic days of the camp, would have gone around filling the holes that they were going to dynamite."

... Mr. Irving said the defense's "so-called" eyewitnesses were a relatively small number for the large proposition at stake. Apart from that, he said, there was not "a single document of any credible worth" which explicitly set out the defense case in all the "hundreds of thousands" of papers in the Auschwitz museum and the Moscow archives. He submitted that his position on the Holocaust was justifiable and not perverse.

Irving Disputes 'Lurid' Atrocity Stories

Michael Horsnell

The Times (London), January 27, 2000

David Irving, the Hitler historian, challenged in the High Court yesterday the credibility of evidence of Auschwitz survivors.

The veracity of Henryk Tauber, a Jew forced to work in the crematoriums, stretched "a reasonable

historian's credibility," he claimed. Mr. Irving, 62, who is suing Deborah Lipstadt, an American academic, and her publisher, Penguin Books, for libel over her claim that he is a Holocaust-denier, pointed to Tauber's eye-witness accounts of one Jew set alight with petrol by the SS and another thrown into a pit of boiling human fat.

This was the sort of "lurid" evidence that should be open to more than normal scrutiny, Mr. Irving said during his cross-examination of Robert Van Pelt, a Dutch Auschwitz expert. Mr. Irving suggested that Tauber's "precision" was prompted by the Polish authorities.

Judge Warns Irving

Lee Levitt

Jewish Chronicle (London), January 28, 2000

Historian David Irving railed on Wednesday against what he termed the "well-funded ... Holocaust education business" as his libel action against Professor Deborah Lipstadt and Penguin Books continued in the High Court.

Mr. Irving launched his attack while cross-examining Dutch historian Professor Robert van Pelt, co-author of a history of Auschwitz with American academic Professor Debórah Dwork.

He claimed that Professor Dwork, at Clark University, had obtained $5 million to finance her chair, and for library, student and other grants.

"It has become big business, and it's not just me who has said this. The Chief Rabbi of England said it once," Mr. Irving claimed. "There are all sorts of profitable sidelines."

Difficult to Counter the Deniers

Per Nygren

Goteborgs-Posten (Sweden), January 28, 2000

... Stéphan Bruchfeld, Sweden's foremost expert on the deniers, tells that after a ten weeks course he gave notes with the arguments of the deniers to the students, and asked them to answer them. The outcome was a disaster, he said. Not because there are no substance in the arguments of the deniers....

Auschwitz Document 'Shows Genocidal Use,' Court Told

LineOne News (Britain), January 28, 2000

... Prof. van Pelt agreed that none of the blueprints showed any modification to create holes in the roof necessary for the introduction of cyanide into the chambers.

Mr. Irving, who says that the apparent lack of such holes means that genocidal gassing did not occur, said that he would abandon his action tomorrow if the Auschwitz authorities would agree to clear the rubble from the ruined crematoria and find the holes.

Such a move, he said, would thwart neo-Nazis who currently benefited from the existence of doubts over the gas chambers.

Irving Not anti-Semitic, Libel Case Told

Daily Telegraph (London), February 1, 2000

An expert in Judaism told the High Court yesterday that he did not consider David Irving, the historian who denies the mass gassing of Jews in concentration camps, to be anti-Semitic.

Denial Isn't Out of Style

Yoram Bronowski

Ha'aretz (Israel), February 1, 2000

A television critic who works for this newspaper recently wrote that wallowing in the Holocaust is hard for him and on ordinary days (any day that is not Holocaust Day), the Holocaust interests him less than last Monday's rainstorm. Although one doubts he would dare to write, let alone feel such a thing, about genocide in Rwanda, what was most impressive about this confession was its unquestionable sincerity, duly rewarded by a letter of praise from a Holocaust survivor. From the sound of it, it was just the bluster of a very young man being negative, and it would be an exaggeration and surely unfair to associate such a pronouncement with anything as serious as Holocaust denial. Nevertheless, I could not help being reminded of this as I watched Yaakov Achimeir ("World News Magazine," Channel One, Saturday, 20:00) briefly interviewing the prime minister of Sweden, Goran Persson, who opened the International Forum on the Holocaust this week in Stockholm. The Forum is devoted to the dangers of denying or forgetting the Holocaust. "There is no need for denial. Indifference and forgetfulness are enough," said the Swede.

... There are all kinds of motives behind Holocaust denial, including the argument that the subject is simply not interesting. Israeli supporters of this view like to hint that through no fault of their own, they already know too much about it, and are plain sick of it. This, in spite of the fact that the Holocaust really takes up very little space in the national agenda or in school curricula.

It seems logical enough that as time goes by, the children of various nations, our own included (the signs are there) will not believe the stories of their parents or grandparents, and demand more and more proof, becoming increasingly disbelieving of what is already so hard to believe. The fears of the Swedish prime minister, it seems, are no joke. The day may come when people will argue about

whether the Holocaust happened or not, in the same way that they argue today about the flood in the time of Noah.

The Holocaust on Trial

D. D. Guttenplan

The Atlantic Monthly (Boston), February 1, 2000

"First they came for the Jews ..."

Of all the "lessons" of the Holocaust, Pastor Martin Niemöller's unsparing account of his own complicity in the escalating brutality of life in Nazi Germany is probably the best known. When Americans talk about the Holocaust — from Vice President Al Gore speaking at a Holocaust remembrance ceremony in Washington, DC, to the AIDS activist Mary Fisher at the 1992 Republican Convention — Niemöller's litany of indifference, "but I was not a Jew ...," almost always comes up. It is one of the things everybody knows about the Holocaust, along with the bars of soap made from the fat of murdered Jews, and the gas chambers at Dachau and Belsen.

The problem is, what everybody knows about the Holocaust isn't always true. Although the grisly tale of human beings rendered into soap figured in some of the earliest accounts of events inside Nazi-occupied Europe, it is now universally rejected by historians as a fabrication — similar to the atrocity stories that were a staple of Allied propaganda during the First World War. The concentration camp at Dachau did have a gas chamber, but it was never used. There were no gas chambers at Belsen.

Nor, as it happens, did the Nazis come first for the Jews. In fact, as Peter Novick explains in his brilliant and provocative new book, *The Holocaust in American Life*, "First they came for the Communists" — a circumstance acknowledged by Niemöller, who continued,

> but I was not a Communist — so I said nothing. Then they came for the Social Democrats, but I was not a Social Democrats — so I did nothing. Then came the trade unionists, but I was not a trade unionist. And then they came for the Jews, but I was not a Jew — so I did little. Then when they came for me, there was no one left who could stand up for me.

Novick describes Gore, Fisher, and the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C., as "prudently omitting Communists" from their versions of Niemöller's homily. But as Novick makes clear, prudence and political calculation have influenced our knowledge of the Holocaust from the very beginning.

David Irving Repeats 'Holocaust Denier' Accusations against Himself on his Web Site

Dan Glove

National Post (Toronto), February 3, 2000

... The dispute has posed a difficult question for observers: Is Irving's mission to win, or to force Holocaust historians to engage him in a theatrical debate on even ground? Irving's limited assets and vulnerability are bound to make any win for Lipstadt and Penguin a pyrrhic one, allowing a martyred Irving to broadcast, via the courts, the newspapers and the Internet, a kind of virtual history no mainstream publisher would be likely to touch.

'I Find the Holocaust Endlessly Boring'

Tom Segev

Ha'aretz (Israel), February 4, 2000

British historian David Irving says that, had the Jews not been allowed to set up a state in Palestine but were sent to Madagascar instead, as proposed in the plan he attributes to Nazi Germany, "the world would be a happier place."

... Irving added that the Jews should ask themselves why they are hated so much, and always have been, everywhere. "What is it in them that generates this hatred? They would do well to think about that."

"There is no doubt that they are hated today in part because of all the 'Holocaust propaganda' they are constantly spreading. It's become impossible to open a newspaper or see a television program these days without coming across the Holocaust. Holocaust, Holocaust, everywhere Holocaust. The Holocaust has 'hijacked' all the media, all of Western culture. The world is fed up with it. People are losing their patience and are liable to resort to acts of violence against Jews. If the Jews don't stop, they can expect a genuine Holocaust."

Where Are All Their Holes?

Tom Segev

Ha'aretz (Israel), February 4, 2000

... What interested him [Irving] more than anything else were the holes that were supposed to be in the ceiling of the chambers, which were ostensibly used for introducing the poison gas. No holes were marked on the plans displayed by the defense witness. Perhaps these were not suffocation chambers, but rather shelters to protect from aerial bombing, suggested Irving, and dramatically promised to withdraw his libel suit if he could only be shown the holes. Where are the holes, he asked

again and again. "We had so much fun that day," he said later, because it turned out that there were no holes....

David Irving v. the Dead

Geoffrey Wheatcroft
National Post (Toronto), February 5, 2000

... There are broader points at issue beyond one man and his reputation. Like any other historical episode, the Shoah — the Hebrew word for catastrophe, which some of us prefer to "Holocaust," the Greek word for "burnt offering" — is a legitimate subject for historical inquiry. Only Nazis and nutters deny the Shoah, but there is another serious, though sadly envenomed, debate between historians who believe Hitler was all along determined to exterminate the Jews and those who think it was a form of improvisation.

... While Irving is conducting his own case, the defendants have a full legal team, solicitors, Queen's Counsel and junior, all costing many thousands a day. Taking part in a case like this is catching a cab from Toronto to Vancouver and watching the meter tick over. Since Irving cannot possibly pay even part of the defense costs, he will presumably go bankrupt if he loses, and the defendants can whistle for their money.

And this case shows once again how heavily weighted in the defendant's favor the libel law is. He doesn't have to prove "actual damage" or financial loss, only to assert that his feelings are hurt, as aren't ours all from time to time. The burden of proof is effectively on the defendant. She has no public interest defense, and the plaintiff is not obliged to show (as in American law) that she acted recklessly and with malice.

... It is indeed possible to detest Holocaust deniers while also having grave misgivings about what has been called the Holocaust industry, or "Shoah business," about which Hal Niedzviecki wrote in the *National Post* last Saturday (Turning the Horror of History into Fun)....

That great man Isaiah Berlin was an acutely conscious Jew, who identified passionately with his people and their fate. And in the words of his biographer Michael Ignatieff, "he actively despised the Holocaust industry and kept his distance from rhetorical invocations of his people's horrible fate. Silence seemed more truthful." While knowing what I think about David Irving, I also know what Isaiah Berlin meant.

Court 73 — Where History Is on Trial

Jonathan Freedland
The Guardian (London), February 5, 2000

... Irving ... reckons he knows enough to deny three key, defining aspects of the Holocaust:

- first, that Jews were killed in gas chambers at Auschwitz,
- second, that Hitler directly ordered their slaughter and
- third that there was any systematic plan to destroy European Jewry.

The defense will have to prove Irving wrong. Not to a jury — both sides agreed to dispense with that — but to the satisfaction of Charles Gray, former libel lawyer and now high court judge.

You would think that would be a simple enough task. We've all seen the archive footage of the camps, the shocking images of human skeletons bulldozed into pits. Surely that evidence settles the matter? Not quite. For Irving looks at those bodies and sees the victims of typhus, an epidemic that thrived in what he admits were the "ghastly" conditions of the concentration camps. He claims these victims were not gassed, but died of "natural causes."

What of the countless volumes of testimony provided by the survivors of the Holocaust, the Primo Levis, Elie Wiesels and Hugo Gryns who, along with thousands of others, described the same, deathly process? They all witnessed the train rides that ended in "selection," with those deemed unfit to work herded away for "delousing," into showers that proved to be gas chambers. What of them? No, Irving would say, the Jews have made it all up. Either these accounts are "a matter for psychiatric evaluation" — the witnesses were out of their minds — or the more sinister fruit of a worldwide Jewish plot to guilt-trip the human race.

So the defense offers the evidence of the Nazi themselves. On Wednesday, Rampton raised Hans Almeyer [Aumeier], the second highest-ranking Nazi officer at Auschwitz. In his interrogation by British intelligence Almeyer, too, corroborated the witnesses' account of the extermination process.

But that is not good enough for Irving either. "British Army officers ... had ways of making people talk," the plaintiff said, happily reversing the cliché. If a Nazi confesses to the Holocaust then, according to Irving, his words were obviously beaten out of him. They are worthless.

That leaves two types of evidence, physical and documentary. Physical evidence is hard, since the

Nazis took great pains to destroy the death camps ...

All that remains are the documents. Here Irving, acknowledged as a near-obsessive student of Nazi paperwork, takes over. This week he took great delight in cross-examining Robert Jan van Pelt, a Dutch architectural historian who is an authority on the gas chambers. Van Pelt's testimony was crucial to the defense, because he has studied architects' drawings — recently made available — which leave little doubt as to the chambers' function.

Irving grilled van Pelt on one document in particular, questioning its authenticity. He rattled off questions: about a serial number out of sequence, an incorrect rank for the signing officer, the initials of the typist (which Irving said exist on no other document), even the precise location of the margin. All these discrepancies, bragged Irving, suggested a forgery.

This is where Irving is happiest, rolling around in swastika-embossed paper. He knows these documents so well, he knows their mannerisms. On this terrain, Irving can be frighteningly convincing.

After 40 Years, Eichmann Diary Released

Michael S. Arnold
Newsday (New York), February 28, 2000

Jerusalem — Israel's attorney general last night authorized the release of the prison memoir of Adolf Eichmann, architect of the Nazis' "Final Solution" for the extermination of European Jewry.

Attorney General Elyakim Rubinstein also agreed to rush a copy to American scholar Deborah Lipstadt during her libel trial in London ...

The memoir has been locked away in Israeli state archives since Eichmann was hanged in 1962, the only time that Israel has imposed the death penalty. According to the few researchers who have had access to the document, Eichmann offers a detailed description of the systematic attempt to exterminate European Jews. He minimizes his role in the operation, describing himself as a minor cog in the Nazi killing machine.

Forgotten over four decades, the document resurfaced last summer when one of Eichmann's sons demanded the memoir. Rubinstein, son of Holocaust survivors, decided instead that the handwritten notes would be opened to the public....

Holocaust experts in Israel say the document could be crucial to Lipstadt's defense ...

Holocaust Can't Be Denied

Eric Fettmann
New York Post, March 8, 2000

Although the evidence of Irving's decades-long historical distortions is overwhelming, he may yet prevail in court, thanks to the complexities of British libel law and his own clever wordplay. That would be a devastating blow — for Irving has been in the forefront of a sinister and dangerous campaign that has allowed Holocaust denial to slowly, but surely, creep into otherwise respectable institutions....

If he wins in court — and the legal onus is on Lipstadt and Penguin to prove their accusations — Irving and his revisionist soulmates will have been handed a license to rewrite history and distort the truth.

"A statesman is an easy man
He tells his lies by rote
A journalist makes up his lies
And takes you by the throat
So stay at home and drink your beer
And let the neighbors vote.

— William Butler Yeats

"What is so sad today is that people think that things you find in Hollywood and soap operas are Western culture, therefore decadent and objectionable."

— Gwee Yee-Hean, president of the Academy of Arts, Singapore. Quoted in *Los Angeles Times*, August 4, 1991.

Even Japan has learned what happens to those who commit sacrilege against the secular religion of the Holocaust. "Holocaust Pressure Groups Shut Down Japan's *Marco Polo* Magazine," a 30-page IHR Special Report, includes a translation of Dr. Nishioka's headline-making *Marco Polo* article, facsimile copies of numerous reports from American and Japanese English-language newspapers on the *Marco Polo* furor, a feature article from the March-April 1995 *Journal*, and more.

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From the Trial Proceedings

Exceprts from the Irving-Lipstadt Trial Transcripts

Compiled by Greg Raven

IHR Journal Provides 'Wake Up Call'

January 25, p. 23

Judge Gray: What puzzles me about this is that one of the documents Mr. Irving just handed in says that this further Polish or Auschwitz investigation has been published in the summer 1991 *Journal of Historical Review.* ["An Official Polish Report on the Auschwitz 'Gas Chambers'"]

[Professor Robert Jan] Van Pelt [a defense witness]: Yes. The history of that report was kind of a rude wake-up call for the people at Auschwitz [State] Museum, because what happened was that, one way or another, the document, which had not been finalized as far as I know, was leaked to people of the Institute for Historical Review and then immediately published rather triumphantly as a Polish investigation and/or sister Leuchter investigation. It was this kind of experience which then made both the people at the [Auschwitz State] Museum and the people at the Jan Sehn Institute to decide to move with greater care in the future.

Prof. van Pelt on Qualifications

January 25, p. 38

Irving: ... Professor van Pelt, you are a Dutch citizen or Canadian citizen now?

Van Pelt: I am a Dutch citizen.

Irving: ... And you are now Professor of the History of Architecture at the University of Waterloo in Toronto?

Van Pelt: No.... I am in the Department of Architecture and hence I am officially a Professor of Architecture. Your title as professor depends on the department you are in. However, I teach in what we call the Cultural History stream, so normally, in order to prevent confusion in ordinary usage, I would call myself Professor of Cultural History because, both in my background, my PhD and my teaching duties, I teach cultural history in the architectural school. However, when I was advised about the way I had to create my curriculum vitae for this proceeding, I was told that I had been to be extremely precise in the legal sense of what I was, so again I put in Professor of Architecture.

Judge Gray: So you are really a cultural historian?

Van Pelt: I am really a cultural historian.

Irving: This is a point of some substance, my Lord. We need to know precisely what your qualifications are to offer your expertise to the court.... In Britain, of course, we have the Royal Institute of British Architects. Are you familiar with the fact that it is illegal in England to call yourself an architect unless you are registered with the RIBA?

Van Pelt: That is in most countries like that, yes, I know.

Irving: In Holland, the equivalent is the Bond van Nederlandse Architecten, am I correct?...

Van Pelt: Yes, Bond van Nederlandse Architecten.

Irving: ... Am I right in saying that you are not registered with the Bond van Nederlandse Architecten?

Van Pelt: I have never had any reason to do so since I never studied in an architectural school.

Irving: So you cannot legally pretend to be an architect, if I can put it like that?

Van Pelt: No, I could be prosecuted.

Irving: ... Rather like Mr. Leuchter was prosecuted in Massachusetts for pretending to be an engineer?

Van Pelt: Yes.

Irving: ... In other words, your expertise, as an architect, is the same as Mr. Leuchter's expertise was an engineer?

Van Pelt: I do not really know. I have been teaching in architecture school now since 1984. I have taught design courses, specially in small architecture schools one needs to chip in wherever one does. I have been on architectural juries and quick sessions, mostly on a weekly, bi-weekly, kind of frequency. I did —

Irving: You have never learned architecture? You have never studied architecture at university? You have never taken a degree in architecture?

Van Pelt: I do not have a degree in it, but I have been confronted with the architectural practice and, apart from that, I have worked for various architects, one of them, Sir Dennis Leston, here in England, when he was designing the Synagogue in Jerusalem. I have worked with Jack Diamond in Toronto. So I have been in architectural offices very often and other practices.

Irving: ... Very well. So if I am called a pseudo historian, then you are a pseudo architect, if I can

put it like that?

Van Pelt: Yes, except I have never claimed to be either an architect or a pseudo architect.

Irving: Except that you are a professor of architecture, you announce you are a professor of architecture, you leave people with the impression that you are an expert on architecture, and yet you have never studied it and you have never qualified and you are not registered as such?

Van Pelt: I must say that I probably would prefer to be called a professor of cultural history, but the fact of the matter is that the university has given me an appointment as professor of architecture. So —

Irving: But you are not giving evidence here on the culture of Auschwitz; you are giving evidence on the architecture of Auschwitz.

Van Pelt: ... I think, as an historian, you can talk about various forms of evidence and the architectural documents is one of these forms of evidence.

Irving: I do not mean these questions in the least sense as a put down, but I think it is important to draw his Lordship's attention to the fact that your qualifications as an architect are, in fact, no greater or lesser than mine?

Van Pelt: I agree that my formal qualifications are exactly the same as yours.

Irving: So when you look at light switches or architectural drawings or blue prints, as you call them, you are no better qualified than I am?

Van Pelt: No ...

The Intimidating Carlo Mattogno

January 25, p. 110

Irving: ... Professor van Pelt, you are probably the world's leading authority on Auschwitz. There is no need to be humble or modest about this. Is this correct?

Van Pelt: It is difficult to say that. I think that the history of Auschwitz is a very big history, a very complex history.... I would say that [I am] probably one of the two people, yes, who was most comfortable with all the material.

Irving: You are certainly the best that money can buy ... Is it true that most of these Auschwitz files have now been microfilmed and provided to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC?

Van Pelt: The Auschwitz files from Moscow have all been unblocked microfilmed, and the Museum is now working on a microfilm collection of the files in Auschwitz itself.

Irving: So there are probably not many pages of those archives that have not recently been turned by one researcher or another?

Van Pelt: I do not know what other researchers are doing. I have read in some of, I think in material which comes from your web site, I think, Mr. [Carlo] Mattogno [Italian revisionist] has done a lot of [archival] work in Moscow. I think that, a number of people in the Holocaust Museum seem to have been intimidated by this book and thinks there is no more work to do, but I tell them that there is enough work to do still.

Irving: It is a very well written book, if I may say so....

Thin Gas Chamber Evidence

February 15, pp. 91-92

Judge Gray: I expect you would accept, Professor [Richard] Evans [a defense witness] ... the number of overtly incriminating documents, wartime documents, as regards gas chambers is actually pretty few and far between?

Evans: Gas chambers, other things such as the systematic nature of the extermination, I am referring to the whole package of evidence....

Irving: Professor Evans, you accept that we cannot do things that way in this court.... As his Lordship has said, you do accept that the documentary basis for the gassings, the gas chambers and for the systematic nature of that is thin compared with the documentation of the Eastern Front shootings?

Evans: Yes ...

"Few men have virtue to withstand the highest bidder."

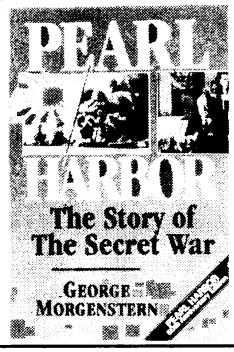
— George Washington

PEARL HARBOR

The Story of the Secret War

by George Morgenstern

Hailed by revisionist giants Barnes, Beard and Tansill when it appeared shortly after the Second World War, this classic remains unsurpassed as a one-volume treatment of America's Day of Infamy. Morgenstern's *Pearl Harbor* is the indispensable introduction to the question of who bears the blame for the Pearl Harbor surprise, and, more important, for America's entry through the "back door" into the War. Attractive IHR softcover edition with introduction by James J. Martin. 425 pp., maps, biblio., index, $8.95 + $2.50 shipping.



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Dr. MacDonald's Testimony in the Irving-Lipstadt Trial

An American Professor to Responds to a 'Jewish Activist'

KEVIN MACDONALD

On Monday, January 31, 2000, American professor Kevin MacDonald took the stand at an expert witness in the London libel case of David Irving vs. Deborah Lipstadt and Penguin Books. (Irving, a prominent British historian, had sued Lipstadt, and her British publisher, for hostile statements made about him in her book, Denying the Holocaust. *For more on the case, see the Sept.-Dec. 1999 Journal, pp. 16-17, including Irving's Opening Statement in the trial.) MacDonald, the only witness to testify voluntarily on Irving's behalf, was not in the stand for long because the defense declined to question him on cross-examination.*

Not surprisingly, MacDonald quickly came under fire for his testimony in the case. In addition to carping from the Jewish weekly Forward *and the influential German daily* Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, *probably the most detailed and vehement broadside came from Judith Shulevitz in the online magazine Slate.*

Here is the text of Prof. MacDonald's statement on his trial testimony, submitted to the court before his appearance, and then considerably revised and expanded for public distribution. It is adapted slightly for publication here. Following that is "My Decision to Testify for Irving," which is excerpted from a statement MacDonald posted online in response to criticisms of his decision to testify.

— The Editor

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Statement on Trial Testimony

Irving in the Context of Jewish Intellectual and Political Activism

I am not a historian. Although the history of Judaism is important to my work, I can offer no expert opinion on the work of David Irving except to the extent that I have noted that his work has been favorably reviewed by a considerable number of academic experts on World War II, including Gordon Craig, A. J. P. Taylor, and Hugh Trevor-Roper.

I believe that my background as an evolutionary psychologist and my research into Jewish-gentile relations equips me to describe to the court some competitive features of those relations. Anti-Jewish tactics are widely known, and it is widely accepted that active anti-Semites have and still do exist. But competitive behavior on the part of Jewish organizations is not as widely known. In my research I have reviewed the writings and activities of both Jews and their opponents, and I think I can help place the actions of Dr. Lipstadt and some Jewish organizations against Mr. Irving into a wider context.

The main point of my testimony is that the attacks made on David Irving by Deborah Lipstadt and Jewish organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) should be viewed in the long-term context of Jewish-gentile interactions. As indicated by the summaries of my books, my training as an evolutionist as well as the evidence compiled by historians leads me to conceptualize Judaism as self-interested groups whose interests often conflict with segments of the gentile community. Anti-Jewish attitudes and behavior have been a pervasive feature of the Jewish experience since the beginnings of the Diaspora well over 2000 years ago. While anti-Jewish attitudes and behavior have undoubtedly often been colored by myths and fantasies about Jews, there is a great deal of anti-Jewish writing that reflects, just as an evolutionist *would* expect, the reality of between-group competition. Particularly important have been the themes of separatism: (1) Jewish groups have typically existed as

recognizably distinct groups, and have been unwilling to assimilate either culturally or through marriage; (2) the theme of economic, political, and cultural domination; (3) the theme of disloyalty.

Because anti-Jewish attitudes and behavior have been such a common response to Jews as a Diaspora group, Jewish groups have developed a wide variety of strategies to cope with their enemies. *Separation and Its Discontents* discusses a great many of these strategies, including a very long history of apologia dating to the ancient world. In the last century there have been a great many intellectual activities, most notably many examples of Jewish historiography which present Jews and Judaism in a positive light and their enemies in a negative light, often with little regard for historical accuracy.

Most importantly for the situation of David Irving, Jewish groups have engaged in a wide range of political activities to further their interests. In general, Jews have been active agents rather than passive martyrs; they have been highly flexible strategists in the political arena. The effectiveness of Jewish strategizing has been facilitated by several key features of Judaism as group evolutionary strategy — particularly that the IQ of Ashkenazi Jews is at least one standard deviation above the Caucasian mean. In all historical eras, Jews as a group have been highly organized, highly intelligent, and politically astute, and they have been able to command a high level of financial, political, and intellectual resources in pursuing their group goals.

For example, Jews engaged in a very wide range of activities to combat anti-Semitism in Germany in the period from 1870 to 1914, including the formation of self-defense committees, lobbying the government, utilizing and influencing the legal system (for example, taking advantage of libel and slander laws to force anti-Jewish organizations into bankruptcy), writing apologias and tracts for distribution to the masses of gentile Germans, and funding organizations opposed to anti-Semitism composed mainly of sympathetic gentiles. Jewish organizations commissioned writings in opposition to "scientific anti-Semitism," as exemplified by academically respectable publications that portrayed Judaism in negative terms. Academic works were monitored for such material, and Jewish organizations sometimes succeeded in banning offending books and getting publishers to alter offensive passages. The result was to render such ideas academically and intellectually disreputable. (See: R.S. Levy, *The Downfall of the Anti-Semitic Political Parties in Imperial Germany* [1975], and, S. Ragins, *Jewish Responses to Anti-Semitism in Germany* [1980].)

Jewish organizations have used their power to make the discussion of Jewish interests off limits.

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Individuals who have made remarks critical of Jews have been forced to make public apologies and suffered professional difficulties as a result. Quite often the opinions in question are quite reasonable — statements that are empirically verifiable, and the sort of thing that may permissibly be said about other groups or members of other groups.

The main point of my testimony is to discuss Mr. Irving's difficulties which he argues have been brought about by Jewish organizations and with the defendant, Deborah Lipstadt who has contributed to the effort to ban Mr. Irving from publishing his work with reputable publishers. This is a major part of Irving's complaint. As evidence I call your attention to Lipstadt's comments, quoted in *The Washington Post* of April 3, 1996:

> In the Passover Haggadah, it says in every generation there are those who rise up to destroy us. David Irving is not physically destroying us, but is trying to destroy the memory of those who have already perished at the hands of tyrants.
>
> They say they don't publish reputations, they publish books ... But would they publish a book by Jeffrey Dahmer on man-boy relationships? Of course the reputation of the author counts. And no legitimate historian takes David Irving's work seriously.

Marlon Brando makes a point to host Larry King during his much-discussed CNN television interview, April 5, 1996. "I am very angry with some of the Jews," said the 72-year-old actor. "They know perfectly well what their responsibilities are ... Hollywood is run by Jews. It is owned by Jews, and they should have a greater sensitivity about the issue of people who are suffering." Brando's career has included legendary roles in such films as "A Streetcar Named Desire," "On the Waterfront," and "The Godfather."

These remarks were made in reaction to the decision by St. Martin's Press to cancel publication of Irving's book, *Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich*, and were clearly intended to support that decision. Irving himself decided to sue Lipstadt only after St. Martin's Press had rescinded publication of the book, and only after Lipstadt's public support for that decision. (See D. D. Guttenplan, "The Holocaust on Trial," *The Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 2000, p. 53.)

Moreover, as Mr. Irving noted in his Opening Statement [Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*, pp. 16-35], the intense pressure brought to bear by certain Jewish groups against him goes far beyond preventing publishers from issuing his work. Mr. Irving has been prevented from traveling to certain countries, his speaking engagements have been disrupted and canceled, his contracts with other publishers have been voided, and he has been subjected to physical intimidation.

While David Irving has to my knowledge been a target of these organizations far more than any other author, Jewish organizations in the United States, and particularly the Anti-Defamation League, have also attempted to censor books critical of Israel and the pro-Israel lobby in the US. These books include Paul Findley's *They Dare to Speak Out* (L. Wilcox, 1996, p. 82), dealing with the activities of the pro-Israel lobby in the United States, Victor Ostrovsky's *By Way of Deception* which deals with Israeli intelligence operations, including recruitment of Jews in foreign lands to act as spies for Israel, and *Assault on the Liberty* by James Ennes on the role of Israel in the attack on the USS Liberty during the 1967 war (recounted in *They Dare to Speak Out* by Paul Findley). For example, an ADL official claimed that Findley's book "is a work of Holocaust revisionism seeking to spread the claim that the Nazi slaughter of Jews was a hoax," although in fact it made no such claim (L. Wilcox, 1996, p. 82). The ADL is also actively trying to censor the internet (*Boston Globe*, March 25, 1999).

Moreover, the ADL has flouted the law by engaging in "espionage, disinformation and destabilization operations, not only against neo-Nazis and Ku Klux Klansmen, but against leftist and progressive groups as well." These activities include illegal penetration of confidential police files in San Francisco and elsewhere. (This story broke in early 1993. See: L. Wilcox, *Crying Wolf*, 1996, p. 7.)

Another example of behavior by Jewish organizations that tends to chill free expression involved the Canadian teacher Luba Fedorkiw. Running for the Canadian Parliament in 1984, she "discovered to her utter amazement that B'nai B'rith Canada ... had circulated an internal memo which accused her of 'Jew-baiting!'" (L. Wilcox, 1996, pp. 81-82). The allegation was repeated in the *Winnipeg Sun* along with the assertion that she was being investigated by B'nai B'rith on suspicion of anti-Semitism. The resulting defamation cost her the election to David Orlikow, and subjected her to malicious harassment. According to Ms. Fedorkiw, when the investigation was publicized, she received obscene and harassing telephone calls, a swastika was spray-painted on her campaign office, and a number of her political supporters withdrew their backing. She sued for libel and won a $400,000 judgment on the basis that a claim that she had said her opponent was "controlled by the Jews" was not true.

In my book, *Separation and Its Discontents*, I discuss several other examples of Jewish activism aimed at suppressing criticism of Jews, Judaism, or Israel. Media critic William Cash, writing in the British magazine *The Spectator* (Oct. 29, 1994), described the Jewish media elite as "culturally nihilist," suggesting that he believed Jewish media influence reflects a Jewish lack of concern for traditional cultural values. Kevin Myers, a columnist for the British *Sunday Telegraph* (Jan. 5, 1997), wrote that

> we should really be able to discuss Jews and their Jewishness, their virtues or their vices, as one can any other identifiable group, without being called anti-Semitic. Frankness does not feed anti-Semitism; secrecy, however, does. The silence of sympathetic discretion can easily be misunderstood as a conspiracy. It is time to be frank about Jews.

Myers went on to note that *The Spectator* was accused of anti-Semitism when it published the 1994 article by William Cash (mentioned above). Myers emphasized the point that Cash's offense was that he had written that the cultural leaders of the United States were Jews whose Jewishness had effectively been beyond public discussion.

Cash wrote that there is a double standard operating, by which a Jewish writer like Neal Gabler may refer to a "Jewish cabal," while his own use of the phrase is described as anti-Semitic. He also noted that while movies regularly present negative, stereotyped portrayals of other ethnic groups, Cash's description of Jews as "fiercely competitive" was regarded as anti-Semitic. As another example, actor Marlon Brando repeated in 1996 statements (originally made in 1979) on a nationally televised interview program to the effect that "Hollywood is run by Jews. It's owned by Jews." The focus of the complaint was that Hollywood regularly portrays negative stereotypes of other ethnic groups but not of Jews. Brando's remarks were viewed as anti-Semitic by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) and the Jewish Defense League (*Los Angeles Times*, April 9, 1996, p. F4).

These claims regarding the Jewish role in Hollywood are empirically verifiable, but the response of major Jewish organizations has been to label such claims "anti-Semitic," and to try to ruin the careers of those who make them. Both Cash and Brando apologized for their remarks and, as part of their public contrition, visited the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles (*Forward*, April 26, 1996). (Cash's apology came some two years after publication of his remarks.) The *Forward* article suggests that Cash has had trouble publishing his work in the wake of the incident. Moreover, the same *Forward* issue reported that the publisher of Cash's comments, Dominic Lawson, editor of the London *Spectator*, was prevented from publishing an article on the birth of his Down Syndrome daughter in *The New Republic* when Martin Peretz, the owner, and Leon Wieseltier, the literary editor, complained about Lawson's publishing of Cash's article. There is abundant evidence that Peretz strongly identifies as a Jew, and that he has an unabashed policy of slanting his journal toward positions favorable to Israel.

Noam Chomsky, the famous MIT linguist, describes (in his 1988 book, *Language and Politics*, pp. 642-3), his own, similar experience with the ADL:

> In the United States a rather effective system of intimidation has been developed to silence critique ... Take the Anti-Defamation League... It's actually an organization devoted to trying to defame and intimidate and silence people who criticize current Israeli policies, whatever they may be. For example, I myself, through a leak in the new England office of the Anti-Defamation League, was able to obtain a copy of my file there. It's 150 pages, just like an FBI file, [consisting of] interoffice memos warning that I'm going to show up here and there, surveillance of talks that I give, comments and alleged transcripts of talks ... [T]his material has been circulated [and] ... would be sent to some local group which would use it to extract defamatory material which would then be circulated, usually in unsigned pamphlets outside the place where I'd be speaking ... If there's any comment in the press which they regard as insufficiently subservient to the party line, there'll be a flood of letters, delegations, protests, threats to withdraw advertising, etc. The politicians of course are directly subjected to this, and they are also subjected to substantial financial penalties if they don't go along... This totally one-sided pressure and this, by now, very effective system of vilification, lying, defamation, and judicious use of funds in the political system ... has created a highly biased approach to the whole matter.

Consider also the comments (from a 1995 essay) of columnist Joseph Sobran, who was forced out of his position as senior editor at *National Review* for remarks critical of Israel:

> The full story of [Pat Buchanan's 1996 presidential] campaign is impossible to tell as long as it's taboo to discuss Jewish interests as freely as we discuss those of the Christian Right. Talking about American politics without mentioning the Jews is a little like talking about the NBA without mentioning the Chicago Bulls. Not that the Jews are all-powerful, let alone all bad. But they are successful, and therefore powerful enough: and their power is unique in being off-limits to normal criticism even when it's highly visible. They themselves behave as if their success were a guilty secret, and they panic, and resort to accusations, as soon as the subject is raised. Jewish control of the major media in the media age makes the enforced silence both paradoxical and paralyzing. Survival in public life requires that you know all about it, but never refer to it. A hypocritical etiquette forces us to pretend that the Jews are powerless victims; and if you don't respect their victimhood, they'll destroy you. It's a phenomenal display not of wickedness, really, but of fierce ethnocentrism, a sort of furtive racial superpatriotism.

Deborah Lipstadt as a Jewish Activist

I regard Deborah Lipstadt more as an ethnic activist than a scholar. It is highly significant that Lipstadt's book *Denying the Holocaust* was written with extensive aid from various Jewish activist organizations, including the ADL. Lipstadt's book was commissioned and published by The Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism [sic] of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In her acknowledgments, she credits the research department of the ADL, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, the Institute for Jewish Affairs (London), the Canadian Jewish Congress, and the American Jewish Committee — all activist organizations.

Lipstadt is the Chair of the Institute for Jewish Studies at Emory University. Historian Jacob Katz finds that academic departments of Jewish studies are often linked to Jewish nationalism: "The inhibitions of traditionalism, on the one hand, and a tendency toward apologetics, on the other, can function as deterrents to scholarly objectivity." The work of Jewish historians, he continues, exhibits "a defensiveness that continues to haunt so much of contemporary Jewish activity" (J. Katz, 1986, pp. 84-85).

Similarly the preeminent scholar of the Jewish religion, Jacob Neusner, notes that "scholars drawn to the subject by ethnic affiliation — Jews studying and teaching Jewish things to Jews — turn themselves into ethnic cheer-leaders. The Jewish Studies classroom is a place where Jews tell Jews why they should be Jewish (stressing "the Holocaust" as a powerful reason) or rehearse the self-evident virtue of being Jewish." (*Times Literary Supplement*, March 5, 1999).

Perhaps the best expression of Lipstadt's activism is in her work as Senior Editorial Contributor of the *Jewish Spectator*, a periodical for conservative, religiously observant Jews. Her column, "*Tomer Devorah*" (Hebrew: "Under Deborah's Palm Tree"), appears in every issue, and touches on a wide range of Jewish issues, including anti-Semitism, relations among Jews, and interpreting religious holidays. In her column she has advocated greater understanding and usage of Hebrew to promote Jewish identification, and, like many Jewish ethnic activists, she is strongly opposed to intermarriage. "We must say to young people 'intermarriage is something that poses a dire threat to the future of the Jewish community'." She also writes that Conservative Rabbi Jack Moline was "very brave" for saying that number one on a list of ten things Jewish parents should say to their children is "I expect you to marry a Jew." Lipstadt suggests a number of strategies to prevent intermarriage, including trips to Israel for teenagers and subsidizing tuition at Jewish day schools. (*Jewish Spectator*, Fall 1991, p. 63).

In his recent book, *The Holocaust in American Life*, Peter Novick clearly thinks of Lipstadt as an activist, although not as extreme as some. He repeatedly cites her as an example of a Holocaust propagandizer. He notes that in her book *Beyond Belief: The American Press and the Coming of the Holocaust 1933-1945*, Lipstadt says Allied Policy "bordered on complicity" motivated by "deep antipathy" toward "contemptible Jews." Novick says (p. 48) that while there is no scholarly consensus on the subject, "most professional historians agree that "the comfortable morality tale... is simply bad history: estimates of the number of those who might have been saved have been greatly inflated, and the moralistic version ignores real constraints at the time." Also, Novick goes on to note (p. 65), Lipstadt attributes the failure of the American press to emphasize Jewish suffering as motivated by "willful blindness, the result of inexcusable ignorance — or malice," despite the fact that the concentration camp survivors encountered by Western journalists (Dachau, Buchenwald) were 80 percent non-Jewish.

Lipstadt is described (Novick, 1999, p. 229) as an implacable pursuer of Nazi war criminals, stating that she would "prosecute them if they had to be wheeled into the courtroom on a stretcher." In a discussion of the well-recognized unreliability of eyewitness testimony, Novick writes: "When evidence emerged that one Holocaust memoir [*Fragments*, by Binjamin Wilkomirski], highly praised for its authenticity, might have been completely invented, Deborah Lipstadt, who used the memoir in her teaching of the Holocaust, acknowledged that if this turned out to be the case, it 'might complicate matters somewhat,' but insisted that it would still be 'powerful as a novel'." [See: "Holocaust Memoir Exposed as Fraud," Sept.-Oct. 1998 *Journal*, pp. 15-16.] Truth is less important than the effectiveness of the message.

The intrusion of ethnocentrism into historical scholarship is a well-recognized problem in Jewish historiography, discussed at length in *Separation and Its Discontents*. Historians such as Jacob Katz (1986) and Albert Lindemann (1997) have noted that this type of behavior is commonplace in Jewish historiography. A central theme of Katz's analysis — massively corroborated by Albert Lindemann's recent work, *Esau's Tears* — is that historians of Judaism have often falsely portrayed the beliefs of gentiles as irrational fantasies while portraying the behavior of Jews as irrelevant to anti-Semitism. To quote the well-known political scientist Michael Walzer: "Living so long in exile and so often in danger, we have cultivated a defensive and apologetic account, a censored story, of Jewish religion and culture" (Walzer, 1994, p. 6).

The salient point for me is that Jewish histori-

ans who have been reasonably accused of bringing an ethnocentric bias to their writing nevertheless are able to publish their work with prestigious mainstream academic and commercial publishers, and they often obtain jobs at prestigious academic institutions. A good example is Daniel Goldhagen. In his written submission to the court on behalf of Deborah Lipstadt, historian Richard Evans describes Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, as a book that argues

Daniel Goldhagen

> in a crude and dogmatic fashion that virtually all Germans had been murderous antisemites since the Middle Ages, had been longing to exterminate the Jews for decades before Hitler came to power, and actively enjoyed participating in the extermination when it began. The book has since been exposed as a tissue of misrepresentation and misinterpretation, written in shocking ignorance of the huge historical literature on the topic and making numerous elementary mistakes in its interpretation of the documents.

These are exactly the types of accusations that Lipstadt levels at Irving. Yet Goldhagen maintains a position at Harvard university, he is lionized in many quarters, and his work has been massively promoted in the media — while his critics have come under pressure from Jewish activist organizations. (See: D.D. Guttenplan in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 2000)

In this regard, historian Ruth Bettina Birn comments — in an interview in the German magazine *Der Spiegel* (Nov. 17, 1997) — on the "unparalleled campaign since 1995 to promote the Goldhagen book. A literary first effort becomes a world sensation, and immediately the newspapers start hinting that there's a Harvard professorship waiting for the views his book propagates." She also comments on "the attempts to stifle the criticism voiced by me and [her co-author, Norman] Finkelstein," including efforts to pressure her publisher to rescind publication of a book critical of Goldhagen. The contrast between the treatment of Goldhagen and the persecution of David Irving speaks volumes.

Because I am not a historian, I am reluctant to pass judgment on the competence and integrity of Mr. Irving as a historian. However, as indicated by my written statement to the court, I have taken notice of the fact that some well-known historians have praised his work, and have been dismayed at the efforts to censor him — that it is simply false that, as Lipstadt claims, "no legitimate historian takes David Irving's work seriously." Indeed, based on my own reading of Irving, I would venture the opinion that whatever the faults of books like *Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich* or *Hitler's War* in dealing with certain issues, such as the role of Hitler in the Holocaust, there is no question in my mind that any student of World War II would benefit from reading this work — that, quite simply, it is an indispensable resource for scholars.

What I find deeply distressing as a scholar is that the pressure on St. Martin's Press exerted by Lipstadt and Jewish organizations like the ADL occurred independently of the content of the volume. The same *Washington Post* article referred to earlier (April 3, 1996) in quoting Lipstadt's support for the actions of St. Martin's Press noted that several other companies had rejected the manuscript without having read it. The effort to pressure St. Martin's press was spearheaded by Jewish ethnic activist organizations and by newspaper columnists, such as Frank Rich of the *New York Times* [especially his April 3, 1996, column], who are not professional historians, and by people like Deborah Lipstadt who do not have the expertise to evaluate a manuscript on Goebbels. In other words, the effort occurred independently of the analytic content of the manuscript and was therefore an illegitimate intrusion on free speech.

Therefore, even if the court comes to believe that the scholarly objections raised, for example, in Richard Evans's report are valid, the fact remains that this book was rescinded because of who Irving is — because his ideology conflicts with that of some Jewish activist organizations, not because of its scholarship. I find that utterly appalling.

Besides promoting Goldhagen and attempting to censor his opponents, the ADL has also condemned responsible scholarship that deviates from its version of the Holocaust. The ADL condemned Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem* as an "evil book", presumably because, as Peter Novick notes (p. 137), her depiction of Eichmann "could be read as trivializing the Israeli accomplishment and undermining the claim that he was an appropriate symbol of eternal anti-Semitism." Similarly, the ADL included Arno Mayer, author of *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken*, as a "Hitler apologist" because of his view that Hitler was motivated more by anti-Bolshevism than anti-Semitism. The ADL claimed that Mayer's was an example of "legitimate scholarship which relativizes the genocide of the Jews." Clearly Holocaust scholarship has been politicized to the point that there are received dogmas whose truth is jealously defended by Jewish activist organizations.

Lipstadt and the Uniqueness of the Holocaust

One such politicized dogma is that the Holocaust is unique. In his 1995 book, *Why Should Jews Survive?*, (p. 48), Jewish scholar and rabbi Michael Goldberg writes:

> Civil Judaism's belief in the Holocaust's uniqueness as being ultimately significant per se ... thus epitomizes the type of belief for which religious faith is both famous and infamous — a dogma. And like all such dogmatic beliefs, the more it is challenged, the fiercer the faithful become in its defense. For them, the first of the Ten Commandments has been revised [quoting Lapote, p. 56]: "The Holocaust is a jealous God; thou shalt draw no parallels to it."

American Jewish scholar Peter Novick (p. 195) similarly writes:

> The most commonly expressed grievance was the use of the words "Holocaust" and "genocide" to describe other catastrophes. This sense of grievance was rooted in the conviction, axiomatic in at least "official" Jewish discourse, that the Holocaust was unique. Since Jews recognized the Holocaust's uniqueness — that it was "incomparable," beyond any analogy — they had no occasion to compete with others; there could be no contest over the incontestable.

As Novick notes, one can always find ways in which any historical event is unique. However, in Lipstadt's eyes, any comparison of the Holocaust with other genocidal actions is not only factually wrong but also morally impermissible, and therefore an appropriate target of censorship. Lipstadt clearly places herself among those who would not merely criticize, but censor scholarship that places the Holocaust in a comparative framework — that is, scholarship that questions the uniqueness of the Holocaust (Novick, 1999, pp. 196, 259).

"By accepting the type of censorship promoted by Lipstadt's writings, we are literally entering a new period of the Inquisition wherein religious dogma rather than open scientific debate is the criterion of truth."

Novick (p. 330, n. 107) quotes Lipstadt as follows: Denial of the uniqueness of the Holocaust is "far more insidious than outright denial. It nurtures and is nurtured by Holocaust-denial." In *Denying the Holocaust* (p. 211), Lipstadt castigates Ernst Nolte and other historians who have "compared the Holocaust to a variety of other 20th-century outrages, including the Armenian massacres that began in 1915, Stalin's gulags, US policies in Vietnam, the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, and the Pol Pot atrocities in the former Kampuchea." Lipstadt calls these "historians' attempt[s] to create such immoral equivalencies." In the section on the uniqueness of the Holocaust, she cites (p. 212) approvingly the claim that "the Nazis' annihilation of the Jews... was 'a gratuitous [that is, without cause or justification] act carried out by a prosperous, advanced industrial nation at the height of its power'." (The inner quote here is from *In Hitler's Shadow*, a book by Richard Evans, who was also an expert witness for Lipstadt in the Irving-Lipstadt trial.)

While there are different meanings one might attribute to this statement by Evans, I take it as an attempt to make the actions of the Nazis completely independent of the behavior of Jews. In my view, such a position is untenable, and is part of a common tendency among Jewish historians of Judaism to ignore, minimize, or rationalize the role of Jewish behavior in producing anti-Semitism. This is a major theme of my book, *Separation and Its Discontents*.

From my perspective as an evolutionist, bloody and violent ethnic conflict has been a recurrent theme throughout history. The attempt to say that the Holocaust is unique is an attempt to remove it from the sphere of scholarly research, interpretation and debate, and instead remove it to the realm of religious dogma, much as the resurrection of Jesus is an article of faith for Christians. By accepting the type of censorship promoted by Lipstadt's writings, we are literally entering a new period of the Inquisition wherein religious dogma rather than open scientific debate is the criterion of truth.

Peter Novick presents (pp. 211-212) much interesting material on the political campaign for the uniqueness of the Holocaust. In the same discussion in where he comments on Lipstadt's statements on the uniqueness of the Holocaust, he notes Elie Wiesel's idea of the Holocaust

> as a sacred mystery, whose secrets were confined to a priesthood of survivors. In a diffuse way, however, the assertion that the Holocaust was a holy event that resisted profane representation, that it was uniquely inaccessible to explanation or understanding, that survivors had privileged interpretive authority — all these themes [have] continued to resonate.

Novick also describes a massive campaign to

make the Holocaust a specifically Jewish event, and to play down the victim status of other groups. To speak of 11 million victims, Novick writes (p. 219),

> was clearly unacceptable to [Elie] Wiesel and others for whom the "big truth" about the Holocaust was its Jewish specificity. They responded to the expansion of the victims of the Holocaust to eleven million the way devout Christians would respond to the expansion of the victims of the Crucifixion to three — the Son of God and two thieves. Wiesel's forces mobilized, both inside and outside the Holocaust Council, to ensure that, despite the executive order, their definition would prevail. Though Jewish survivors of the Holocaust had no role in the initiative that created the museum, they came, under the leadership of Wiesel, to dominate the council — morally, if not numerically. When one survivor, Sigmund Strochlitz, was sworn in as a Council member, he announced that it was "unreasonable and inappropriate to ask survivors to share the term Holocaust ... to equate our suffering ... with others." At one Council meeting, another survivor, Kalman Sultanik, was asked whether Daniel Trocme, murdered at Majdanek for rescuing Jews and honored at Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile, could be remembered in the museum's Hall of Remembrance. "No," said Sultanik, because "he didn't die as a Jew ... The six million Jews ... died differently."

Jewish activists have insisted on the "incomprehensibility and inexplicability of the Holocaust," Novick writes (p. 178). He continues (p. 200):

> Even many observant Jews are often willing to discuss the founding myths of Judaism naturalistically — subject them to rational, scholarly analysis. But they're unwilling to adopt this mode of thought when it comes to the "inexplicable mystery" of the Holocaust, where rational analysis is seen as inappropriate or sacrilegious.

Elie Wiesel "sees the Holocaust as 'equal to the revelation at Sinai' in its religious significance; attempts to 'desanctify' or 'demystify' the Holocaust are, he says, a subtle form of anti-Semitism" (Novick, p. 201). A 1998 survey showed that Jews regarded "remembrance of the Holocaust" as "extremely important" or "very important" to Jewish identity — far more often than synagogue attendance, travel to Israel, or anything else.

Reflecting this insistence on the uniqueness of the Holocaust, Jewish organizations and Israeli diplomats cooperated to block the US Congress from commemorating the Armenian genocide. "Since Jews recognized the Holocaust's uniqueness — that it was 'incomparable,' beyond any analogy — they had no occasion to compete with others; there could be no contest over the incontestable." Abraham Foxman, head of the ADL, has written that Holocaust is "not simply one example of genocide but a near successful attempt on the life of God's chosen children and, thus, on God himself" (Novick, pp. 195, 199).

Novick also shows how the Holocaust successfully serves Jewish political interests. As he points out (p. 155), the Holocaust was originally promoted to rally support for Israel following the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli wars:

> Jewish organizations ... [portrayed] Israel's difficulties as stemming from the world's having forgotten the Holocaust. The Holocaust framework allowed one to put aside as irrelevant any legitimate ground for criticizing Israel, to avoid even considering the possibility that the rights and wrongs were complex.

As the military threat to Israel subsided, the Holocaust was promoted as the main source of Jewish identity, and as part of the effort to combat assimilation and intermarriage among Jews. It was also promoted among gentiles as an antidote to anti-Semitism. In recent years this campaign has involved a large scale educational effort (including mandated courses in the public schools of several states) spearheaded by Jewish organizations and manned by thousands of Holocaust professionals aimed at conveying the lesson that "tolerance and diversity [are] good; hate [is] bad, the overall rubric [is] 'man's inhumanity to man'" (Novick, pp. 258-259). The Holocaust has thus become an instrument of Jewish ethnic interests as a symbol intended to create moral revulsion at violence directed at minority ethnic groups — prototypically the Jews.

A Plea for Tolerance of Heterodoxy

Irving, like many historians, may indeed see events through a filter of personal political and intellectual convictions, and this may even lead him, perhaps unconsciously, to interpret his data in a particular way. This is a commonly acknowledged difficulty that afflicts all of the social sciences, and Jewish social scientists have certainly not been immune from these tendencies. I have already commented on the many examples of clear apologetic tendencies by Jewish historians in writing about Jewish history — tendencies to view the Jewish in-group in a favorable manner, and to pathologize anti-Semitism as irrational and completely unrelated to the actual behavior of Jews. These works have been published by the most prestigious academic and commercial presses.

It is noteworthy that among the examples of

biased historical research cited by Albert Lindemann in his study *Esau's Tears*, he includes the work of Jewish Holocaust historians Lucy Dawidowicz and Daniel J. Goldhagen — a clear indication that the area of Holocaust studies remains politically charged. Moreover, in *The Culture of Critique* I describe several highly influential intellectual movements (Boasian anthropology, Freudian psychoanalysis, the Frankfurt School of Social Research) that presented themselves as science but were strongly influenced the Jewish ethnic agendas of their founders, particularly combating anti-Semitism.

Intellectual blinders and political agendas are a fact of academic life. However, even were it to be proved that David Irving does indeed bring a certain set of biases to his work, even the most biased researchers may well contribute invaluable scholarship. Science emerges when the work of all investigators becomes part of the marketplace of ideas and when scholars are not vilified and their scholarship censored simply because their conclusions fly in the face of contemporary orthodoxy.

My Decision to Testify for Irving

The decision to testify for David Irving was an agonizing one for me, and I want to make clear exactly why I did so. Irving approached me to testify in the trial because I had included the suppression of his *Goebbels* biography as an example of Jewish tactics for combating anti-Semitism in *Separation and Its Discontents*. Actually the suppression of Irving goes far beyond what I included in my book. Irving has been prevented from publishing his original archival research, from traveling to several countries, and even from giving lectures.

The second defendant in the case, Deborah Lipstadt, has contributed to this effort at censorship. My statement to the court and my entire testimony in court involved this issue, not the Holocaust or the culpability of Hitler. Irving's book on Goebbels was rescinded by St. Martin's Press not because of its scientific merit. (It had passed their review process.) The effort to pressure St. Martin's press was spearheaded by certain Jewish ethnic activist organizations, especially the Anti-Defamation League, and by newspaper columnists, such as Frank Rich of *The New York Times* ...

This is part of a pattern in which certain Jewish activist organizations have attempted to prevent the publication of writings conflicting with their constructions of reality, including books critical of Israel (see L. Wilcox, 1996, and, *Separation and Its Discontents*, Chaps. 2 and 6), and they have condemned books, such as those by Hannah Arendt, Arno Mayer, and even Raul Hilberg, that take disapproved positions on certain aspects of the Holocaust (see D.D. Guttenplan in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 2000). I am completely unpersuaded by the argument that free speech issues only relate to government actions, not private corporations like St. Martin's Press. Killing books by private organizations, while not government censorship, is blacklisting. This is exactly what McCarthyite groups did during the anti-Communist hysteria following World War II.

Despite the fact that David Irving contacted me because I had discussed the suppression of his book, I continued to be concerned that this issue might not really be central to Irving's case, and that my purported expertise on Judaism might be irrelevant. The link to the case was that Deborah Lipstadt had joined the effort at suppression despite her lack of scholarly expertise on Goebbels.

In the trial, the defense argued that my testimony was irrelevant, and the judge at first seemed to agree. However, he changed his mind when the link with Lipstadt was made clear. Irving's complaint goes beyond simple libel against him to the assertion of an organized campaign of suppression. Evolutionary theory did not enter into my testimony, and it only entered my written statement to the court in a general way — that I saw in Jewish-gentile relations examples of competition between ethnic groups.

David Irving is in many ways not an ideal person. There is no doubt in my mind that he has strongly held political views — although the extent to which this is a reaction to his demonization by Jewish activist organizations is at least open to conjecture. Whenever a person has strong political views, it is reasonable to assume that these views may color one's perception of reality. Since I am not a professional historian, I am in no position to judge the validity of his archival research. I am very impressed by the fact that Irving is a recognized expert on certain aspects of World War II — recognized by several noted authorities, none of whom are Holocaust deniers or revisionists, for having made original contributions to knowledge in the field. These include Gordon Craig, A. J. P. Taylor, Hugh Trevor-Roper, and John Keegan.

I also felt that Lipstadt exaggerated the extent to which Irving denied the Holocaust, since there are many places in his writings where Irving describes Nazis engaged in organized killing of Jews. I was also swayed by my knowledge that Irving's *Goebbels* biography had received a positive but critical review in *The New York Review of Books* (Sept. 19, 1996) by Stanford historian Gordon Craig,

who cautioned against censoring people like Irving. And finally, after having read *Goebbels* myself, I decided that, whatever faults a close analysis might reveal, it was highly informative on many points — an indispensable source of information on the man and the period. Obviously I would not trust only my own feelings on this issue, but I had satisfied myself that this is indeed a major contribution to the field.

I was also swayed by finding that Lipstadt is a Jewish ethnic activist whose own writings have been criticized by a well-recognized historian as exaggerating the role of anti-Semitism in the Western response to the Holocaust during World War II. Lipstadt is thus part of a pattern discussed extensively in *Separation and Its Discontents*, in which Jewish historians engage in ethnocentric interpretations of history.

I should mention that after I agreed to testify on behalf of Irving, I was horrified to read the report about Irving written by Cambridge University historian Richard Evans and several research associates. This massive report, written on behalf of the defense, is a scathing summary of alleged misrepresentations and misinterpretations by Irving spanning his entire career. I expressed my reservations to Irving and he assured me that he would be able to defend himself against these allegations. In his reply, he stated that "I have a clean conscience, but I am not sure how to bring that across," and then provided me with several detailed examples where the Evans report misrepresented his writings. As a result, I felt that he was playing by the rules of scholarly discourse.

Moreover, as indicated above, I was also aware of many examples in which the historiography of Jewish history has been influenced by the ethnic agendas of Jewish writers — I devoted an entire chapter to this sort of thing. Goldhagen is only the tip of a very large iceberg. I reasoned that even if the Evans report was correct, these facts could not have been known by Lipstadt when she made her claims against Irving, and in any case she went way too far when she asserted that "no legitimate historian takes David Irving seriously" and when she claimed that he was not a historian at all. Finally, I developed a reason to distrust Richard Evans after reading sections of his book, *In Hitler's Shadow: West German Historians and the Attempt to Escape the Nazi Past* (Pantheon, 1989). In her book, *Denying the Holocaust*, Lipstadt cites Evans' claim that Nazi anti-Semitism was gratuitous. The relevant quote, from Evans' *In Hitler's Shadow* (p. 40) is:

> Nazi anti-Semitism was gratuitous: It was not provoked by anything, it was not a response to anything. It was born out of a political fantasy, in which the Jews, without a shred of justification, were held responsible for all that the Nazis believed was wrong with the modern world.

This is not the sort of nuanced treatment of anti-Semitism that one would expect from a prominent historian but rather a dogmatic statement that takes the behavior of Jews completely outside of their own history. There is no attempt to determine the factual basis — the truths, the half-truths and the pure fantasies — that have always been characteristic of anti-Semitism over the ages. Seeing passages such as this in Evans and seeing Lipstadt cite Evans reinforced my decision to testify for Irving.

During the same period I received the following message about the Goebbels book from a prominent mainstream historian:

> I just re-read my own notes to Irving's Goebbels, which strongly confirmed my memory that there is much more richness and less partisanship in that book than many would be willing to believe — and that few of his detractors seem to recognize. I'll also have to say that Evans seems to be taking a strongly polemical position, whereas I would have preferred to see him recognize at least some of Irving's strong points as well as his weak. But I have not read enough of Evans yet to determine if there are things he later covers that explain why he is so strongly against Irving, so unwilling to recognize anything of merit.

Having read almost the entire Evans report, I was convinced that in fact Evans had nothing positive at all to say about Irving. Indeed, Evans reiterates Lipstadt's assertion that Irving is not a historian at all. Again, I was confirmed in my belief that testifying for Irving was entirely appropriate.

My view is that political, personal, and ethnic biases are ubiquitous in the social sciences. If the situation were reversed, I would be more than willing to testify on behalf of a Jewish historian suing an anti-Semite because there had been an analogous campaign of suppression against his work.

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Thanks

We've stirred up things a lot since the first issue of the *Journal of Historical Review* came out in the spring of 1980 — 20 years ago. Without the staunch support of you, our subscribers, it couldn't have survived. So please keep sending those clippings, the helpful and critical comments on our work, the informative articles, and the extra boost over and above the subscription price. It's our life blood. To everyone who has helped keep the *Journal* alive, our sincerest thanks.

"I had rather starve and rot and keep the privilege of speaking the truth as I see it, than of holding all the offices that capital has to give, from the presidency down."

— Brooks Adams

'One-Sided War Criminal Hunt'

Certain people are again calling for the arrest of naturalized Australian citizen Konrad Kalejs for his suspected involvement in war crimes during World War II.

What worries me is the question, when do we stop? Also, it appears to be only people from the German side who are still being hunted nearly 60 years after the alleged crimes. We should either charge everyone from all sides, or forget about it.

What about charging all the Russians who in 1943 murdered thousands of Polish officers in the Katyn Forest? I find it disgusting that the British and Americans knew at the time that the Russians had committed this monstrous crime, yet falsely blamed the Germans. The Soviets only admitted to their involvement in 1990.

How about charging all the Japanese who committed the most terrible crimes against the civilian populations in lands they had conquered? What about charging the Poles who murdered hundreds of Jews in a pogrom just after the war had ended in 1945? Are we going to charge the Czechs for being involved in the death of an estimated 40,000 Sudeten Germans between 1945 and 1946 through lynchings, starvation and disease? Will the Russians who over-ran German field hospitals ad then murdered the staff and patients be tracked down, arrested and the tried?

The American Judge, Edward L. Van Roden, stated [in 1949] that [trial] confessions were extracted from [German] prisoners of war by the use of torture, saying that "burning matches were driven under fingernails, teeth were knocked out, jaws broken, and in 139 cases investigated, the prisoners had been kicked so hard in the testicles that the were beyond repair." Will these Americans be tracked down and charged? Will British soldiers who did the same thing be charged?

Will the french and Americans who let at least 793,239 German soldiers in the prison camps they controlled die of starvation and neglect between 1945 and 1948 ever be called upon to answer for their brutal actions? What's the old saying? — those who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones.

— Edgar Penzig, of Blackheath, Australia. Reader's letter published in *The Daily Telegraph* (Sydney, Australia), January 7, 2000.

"What the best of statesman can do is listen to the rustle of God's mantle through history and try to catch the hem of it for a few steps."

— Bismarck

Labels And Libels: David Irving and 'Holocaust Denial'

JOSEPH SOBRAN

An important libel suit is under way in London. David Irving, the controversial British historian of World War II, is suing an American scholar, Deborah Lipstadt of Emory University, for calling him "one of the most dangerous spokespersons for Holocaust denial." Since she wrote this in a 1993 book *Denying The Holocaust*, Irving says, his career has suffered badly, and he charges that this was exactly what she intended. He compares being accused of Holocaust denial to being called a wife-beater or a pedophile — a defamation that results in social and professional ostracism, not to mention death threats.

The label became actionable when Mrs. Lipstadt's book was published in England, where libel law places the burden of proof on the defendant. Such invidious descriptions of public figures may be flung freely in the United States, and she apparently didn't stop to consider the difference between the two countries' legal standards when the British edition of her book went to press.

Supported by various Jewish organizations, Mrs. Lipstadt has gathered an expensive team of lawyers and scholars, including Anthony Julius, who served as attorney for the late Princess Diana in her divorce. Irving, who lacks similar support, is representing himself in court. Under British rules of discovery, he has gained access to Mrs. Lipstadt's correspondence with these organizations and he intends to expose the methods by which he says Jewish groups conspire to destroy heretics like him. Under assorted laws against "hate speech," he has already been harassed, banned, and threatened with arrest in several countries where "Holocaust denial" is a crime; Germany is seeking to extradite him for criminal prosecution during the lawsuit!

The Holocaust debate is a strange one, since the Jewish side insists that there is no "other side" (since there is nothing to debate about) while trying not only to ruin those on the nonexistent other side, but to put them in jail — over a difference about historical fact. Forty years ago the British historians A. J. P. Taylor and Hugh Trevor-Roper had a famous and bitter debate over Hitler's responsibility for World War II; but it never occurred to either man to try to get the other fired from his academic position, let alone thrown into prison!

Joseph Sobran

Irving says he has never denied that during World War II the Germans persecuted Jews and killed many of them. But he has disputed many details of the standard account, including the number of the dead and the existence of gas chambers at Auschwitz. Whether these modifications add up to "Holocaust denial" is one point at issue; another is whether he is "dangerous." Dangerous to whom? More dangerous than laws limiting the freedom of speech? More dangerous than Mrs. Lipstadt's words about Irving himself?

In any case there is no doubt that powerful forces, especially Jewish ones, have been out to get Irving for many years. But until now, the combative and fearless historian, never one to back down, has been able to do little to defend himself.

The verdict in the trial will probably neither affirm nor refute the occurrence of the Holocaust. The question before the court is whether Mrs. Lipstadt deliberately damaged Irving's career with false statements. Living as she does in a country where libel is pretty much legal, thanks to the US Supreme Court's peculiar reading of the First Amendment, it must come as a shock to her to find herself forced, for once, to back up her charges.

Jewish groups are afraid that a verdict in Irving's favor will amount to an official ruling that the Holocaust never happened. But it need not mean that at all. It could mean no more than that Mrs. Lipstadt committed libel by imputing Holocaust

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denial — and a "dangerous" version of it at that — to Irving.

Irving, a nonacademic freelance historian, has written many books on World War II, the most famous of which is *Hitler's War*, in which he argued that Hitler never ordered the destruction of the Jews. The book caused an uproar beyond academe. He has also unearthed important documents and interviewed many of Hitler's close associates; even many professional historians who don't share Irving's German sympathies and his scorn for Winston Churchill agree that his work is indispensable. Most recently the publication of his biography of Joseph Goebbels by St. Martin's Press was canceled under pressure from Jewish groups.

I haven't read Irving's work and would be unable to assess it, but I have met the man himself. A couple of years ago we had lunch in Virginia and I found him a stimulating and captivating conversationalist. He described himself as "a Holocaust skeptic, not a Holocaust denier," amazed at the proliferation of Holocaust memorials in this country. We agreed that the subject has become a topic of alarming thought control, both of us having experienced forms of it, including personal smears by Jewish fanatics.

I myself have been accused of Holocaust denial by a Jewish academic in California; but the truth is that I have never denied it, for the simple reason that I don't know enough to have a firm opinion on the matter. I lack the qualifications to be a Holocaust denier. I don't read German; I don't know anything about gas chambers and Zyklon B; I wouldn't know how to weigh the evidence. None of which suffices to protect me from being libeled.

But I certainly do distrust those who want to punish others for the impertinence of disagreeing; the Lipstadts don't act as if they believe in the Holocaust themselves. If you have a real conviction about a factual matter, why would you want to punish a man for differing with you? If you think his view is absurdly wrong, you're serenely content to confute him; locking him up would add absolutely nothing to your case and could only raise suspicions about its inherent strength. Neither side in the heated Shakespeare authorship debate, for example, seeks the incarceration of the other side.

And of course Irving and I aren't the only targets: everyone is a potential target. Canada, France, Germany, Israel, and several other countries have criminalized Holocaust heresy. The Israeli writer Amos Elon marvels that opinions about historical events can still be made illegal. It's hard to believe that this sort of thing can happen in the modern world, but it does happen. A few years ago the Israelis even tried to block publication in the United States of a book critical of the Mossad; and in fact a Jewish judge in New York did order its suppression. His order was immediately reversed; but for a few hours, a book was actually banned in this country for offending organized Jewish interests.

Such restrictions on opinion are insults to the freedom of a whole society. They violate not only David Irving's right to speak, but everyone else's right to hear him and assess his arguments for themselves. Even those who think Irving is seriously wrong, and even dishonest, should enjoy the exercise of grappling with his criticisms; that is how historical study constantly progresses. In a sense, all serious history is "revisionism," an endless process of refining knowledge.

As for views that are just bizarrely wrong, why bother with them? If a man argues that Napoleon never existed, or that Joe Stalin and Pol Pot were basically decent chaps, society can afford to let him walk the streets.

In a recent article on the Irving-Lipstadt suit in *The Atlantic Monthly*, D. D. Guttenplan discusses the often bitter differences over the Holocaust among Jewish scholars, noting that many things that "everyone knows" about the Holocaust have been discredited — such as the grisly fables that the Nazis made soap and lampshades out of the remains of murdered Jews. Yet some people have been imprisoned for denying what no scholar now believes. The Israeli scholar Yehuda Bauer has argued that "only" a million Jews, not four million as officially asserted, were murdered at Auschwitz. Irving has forced Lipstadt's expert witnesses to concede that the alleged gas chamber at Auschwitz is not authentic, but a postwar reconstruction.

One complication, of course, is that the standard account of the Holocaust serves political interests. Though Israel didn't exist until Hitler had been destroyed, it has claimed enormous cash reparations from Germany; and it has enjoyed great indulgence from the United States by justifying its violence against its Arab neighbors, and its abuses of its Arab minority, as necessary defensive measures by a people still traumatized by persecution and threatened by annihilation. The very term "Holocaust" became current long after World War II — during the late 1960s, in fact, when Israel won the Six-Day War with Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. It was then that the Zionist lobby became one of the most powerful forces in American politics and ethnic "Jewishness," as distinct from religious Judaism, became, for the first time, openly militant in American culture, and any criticism of Jews or Israel became "anti-Semitism." It wasn't long before "Holocaust denial" became a capital thought-crime.

Jewish guilt-merchants have also used the Holocaust as a stick to beat other parties with. Christianity, from the Gospel writers to Pius XII, has

been blamed for inspiring genocide against the Jews; the Holocaust is often described as the culmination of "2,000 years of Christian anti-Semitism." Those who make these charges are deeply resentful when Christians reject them. Last year's Vatican statement exonerating Pius XII provoked further angry attacks by some Jews. The nominal Catholic John Cornwell has found favor among such Jews by smearing Pius as "Hitler's Pope."

On the other hand, a number of more temperate Jews have deplored these wild indictments. Unfortunately, the incentive system still favors the shrillest. Cornwell stands to lose nothing by lying about Pius; if he had praised him, his book would have been published (if at all) by some obscure Catholic press.

The Jewish lobby (though "lobby" seems an inadequate term for it) now inspires enormous fear because of its power to ruin politicians, writers, and businesses. It wields such dreaded labels as "anti-Semite" and "bigot" with abandon and — and here is the real point — with impunity. This is the background against which Mrs. Lipstadt made her charges against Irving.

Far from being persecuted, or remotely threatened with persecution, Jews in the modern democracies are very powerful. That is precisely why they are feared, and why their labels terrify. If they were really helpless victims, there would obviously be no reason to fear them; nobody in Hitler's Germany (or Jefferson's America, for that matter) had to fear being called anti-Semitic. Most Jews of course take no active part in the thought-control campaign, and many would oppose it if they considered it seriously; but the major secular Jewish organizations are determined to silence any public discourse that is not to their liking, as witness the fate of people as disparate as Irving, Louis Farrakhan, and Pat Buchanan.

The test is this. What is the penalty for making false or reckless charges of anti-Semitism? The plain fact is that there is no penalty at all. That is why the Irving-Lipstadt suit is so startling. In this country we aren't used to seeing people — especially members of the mighty "victim" groups — held responsible for ruining others' reputations.

If anti-Semitism is a serious matter, you might think it would be in the interest of the Jewish lobby itself to define the term carefully and to discourage its promiscuous use. But neither has happened. Why not?

For the simple reason that the function of the word is not to identify and disarm real hostility to Jews, but to terrorize. For the purpose of creating fear, as Stalin understood, a false charge is as good as a true one — better, in fact, since the power to stigmatize arbitrarily, without well-defined rules and safeguards against abuse, is the perfect way to intimidate the general population.

Even a false charge reinforces the power of the lobby. After all, if people only had to beware of true accusations — strictly defined charges in which the burden of proof was on the accuser, who would put himself at risk by making charges he couldn't support — there would be little to worry about. You don't fear being falsely accused of murder, because you know you can defend yourself against it and see your accuser punished. If the crime is serious, so is the false imputation of it. That's the ordinary rule of life.

But when nobody pays a price for making false accusations, there are going to be a lot of false accusations. Joe McCarthy really didn't get it. When he spoke of "card- carrying Communists," he was too specific for his own good. His charges were too well-defined and therefore subject to falsification. Everyone knows what a "card-carrying Communist" is; when you use that phrase, you'd better be able to make it stick. But nobody really knows what an "anti-Semite" is, so the charge of anti-Semitism can't be falsified, and nobody has to worry about being penalized for using it. It's a thoroughly perverse incentive system, worthy of the Soviet Union.

If Deborah Lipstadt winds up paying damages to David Irving, it will be partly because she, like Joe McCarthy, was imprudently specific. Dangerous may be a little vague, but "Holocaust denier" isn't. It can be proved or disproved.

A ruling in Irving's favor might even tend to confirm the standard account of the Holocaust, if it transpires that he agrees with its central contention in spite of his skepticism about certain of its features. But such a ruling would certainly show that there is still one island on earth where you lie about people at your own peril.

"The press is the hired agent of the monied system, and set up for no other purpose than to tell lies where the interests are involved. One can trust nobody and nothing."

— Henry Adams

"The men the American people admire most extravagantly are the most daring liars; the men they detest most violently are those who try to tell them the truth."

— H. L. Mencken

"Those who don't read good books have no advantage over those who can't."

— Mark Twain

Letters

Did the 'Wrong Side' Win?

In his recent Opening Statement to the London Court, David Irving said: "I shall not argue, and have never argued, that the wrong side won the [Second World] war, for example, or that the history of the war needs to be grossly rewritten." I cannot go along with that. As I see it, in reality we were fighting the wrong enemy, or so it seems by the state of the world today.

Of all those who have been hounded and punished for bringing to light facts that are unpalatable for the "exterminationists," Fred Leuchter, the subject of the "Mr. Death" film (reviewed by Greg Raven in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*) probably deserves more sympathy than any other, because his travails were not of his own making. In light of what happened to him and others, it is not altogether surprising that some revisionists might sometimes appear to be back-pedaling.

Whenever I have nothing especially pressing to read, I pull out back copies of the *Journal*, where I always find articles of interest. Quite often I get more out of a second reading. As I write this, I am thinking of the talk given by historian John Toland at the Tenth IHR Conference, "Living History" [published in the Spring 1991 *Journal*], in which he reminisces about his friendships with Leon Degrelle, Hans-Ulrich Rudel, Otto Skorzeny, and so forth — each of whose books I have read.

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Australia

'Myths' About Stalin and the Ukrainian Famine

In a letter in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*, "One-Sided Revisionism?," K. W. charges that Mark Weber "uncritically" repeats "myths about socialist" regimes. He questions Weber's statement (in a previous *Journal* issue) that "by all accounts, the victims of Stalin, America's ally, vastly outnumbered those of Hitler, America's enemy." K. W. asks, "By whose accounts?," and rejects as unreliable such sources the "anti-Communist Hearst newspapers" and "the Hitler regime." These, he goes on, are responsible for "spreading the hoax of a massive famine in the Ukraine in the 1930s."

But was this a hoax? Was it, as K. W. would have us believe, a "myth" about socialism?

Malcolm Muggeridge, Moscow correspondent for the British daily *Manchester Guardian*, was one of the few Western journalists to visit the famine regions of Ukraine. In a 1933 report, he wrote:

> On a recent visit to the Northern Caucasus and the Ukraine, I saw something of the battle that is going on between the government and the peasants. The battlefield is as desolate as in any war and stretches wider; stretches over a large part of Russia. On the one side, millions of starving peasants, their bodies often swollen from lack of food; on the other hand, solder members of the GPU carrying out the instructions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They had gone over the country like a swarm of locusts and taken away everything edible; they shot and exiled thousands of peasants, sometimes whole villages; they have reduced some of the most fertile land in the whole world to a melancholy desert.

Years later Marco Carynnyk asked Muggeridge about all this during a visit at his cottage in Sussex. (This interview was published in October 1983 by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.) When he arrived by train in the Ukrainian countryside, Muggeridge recounted, "one could sense the state of affairs. Ukraine was starving, and you only had to venture out to smaller places to see derelict fields and abandoned villages ... First of all, one feels a deep, deep, deep sympathy with and pity for the sufferers. Human beings look very tragic when they are starving."

The famine, Muggeridge recalled, "was the big story in all our talks in Moscow. Everybody knew about it. Anyone you were talking to knew that there was a terrible famine going on." This horror was not a natural phenomenon, he continued. "The novelty of this particular famine, what made it so diabolical, is that it was not the result of some catastrophe like a drought or an epidemic. It was the deliberate creation of a bureaucratic mind which demanded the collectivization of agriculture, immediately, as a purely theoretical proposition, without any consideration whatever of the consequences of human suffering."

Historian Bohdan Krawchenko, in "Collectivization and the Famine" (also published by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee), explains that Stalin's motive in brutally imposing collectivization was to industrialize the country as quickly as possible. For this he needed large quantities of grain that could be exchanged with the West for machinery and expertise. The collectivization process involved mass confiscation of peasants' land, livestock and grain reserves. With ever more ruthless seizures of grain from the farms, famine hit hard in 1932.

Accompanying this was mass

repression by the semi-military GPU or NKVD of the "kulaks" — that is, the more diligent and successful peasant farmers who were also the leaders in resisting Soviet collectivization. Masses of kulaks were shot or deported to Siberia, where most perished in the horrendous cold and deprivation.

During the height of the famine, Krawchenko notes, Stalin ordered a massive "purge" in Ukraine. This brutal campaign continued virtually uninterrupted until 1938, "claiming the lives of 80 per cent of Ukraine's creative intelligentsia. Thousands of priests of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church were killed, as were that church's 35 bishops." [See also: Valentyn Moroz, "Nationalism and Genocide: The Origin of the Artificial Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine," in the Summer 1985 *Journal*.]

What was the toll in human lives? In his detailed 1986 study, *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (pp. 301-306), historian Robert Conquest carefully concluded that "the total peasant dead as a result of the dekulakization and famine" was "about 14.5 million." About half of this incredible total were famine victims, some three million of them children, and half were victims of "dekulakization" and forced "collectivization," of whom some 3.5 million perished in the camps. About five million of the seven million famine victims were Ukrainians, or about 19 percent of the entire Ukrainian population.

Joseph Sobran wrote in his column of May 20, 1997, "The Forgiven Holocaust": "Soviet Communism eventually killed tens of millions of people — nearly 62 million, according to Professor R.J. Rummel of the University of Hawaii, a specialist in the study of 'democide' (his term for government mass murder) [in his 1990 book *Lethal Politics: Soviet Genocide and Mass Murder Since 1917*]. In 1933 its record was already so bloody that Central Europe was terrified of the Communist threat that so many Western intellectuals preferred to see as the Great Progressive Hope."

Contrary to what K. W. asserts, the imposed mass famine in Ukraine is no "hoax," and the millions of victims of Soviet rule, especially under Stalin, is no "myth." These authentic horrors are well documented.

J. C. M.
Imray City, Mich.
[by e-mail]

Not 'Reconstruction' But Falsification

In the Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*, page 13, the caption to the photograph of the "gas chamber" at the Auschwitz main camp, shown to many hundreds of thousands of tourists over the years, tells readers that this "is actually a postwar reconstruction." (Similarly, on page 67 of this same *Journal* issue, readers are told that this "alleged gas chamber ... is not in its original state.")

This is, or could be, misleading because it implies that this room might be a faithful "reconstruction" of an original wartime homicidal "gas chamber."

Over the years, "exterminationists" have called this a "reconstruction" because they have wanted to suggest that it is faithful to the original. For example, in a 1992 video entitled "David Cole Interviews Dr. Franciszek Piper," the Auschwitz State Museum senior curator said that today's Auschwitz main camp "gas chamber" was "very similar" to the original one. Piper was lying: it was not "very similar," but rather crudely falsified.

David Cole, the young Jewish-American researcher who conducted the interview, could himself have immediately demonstrated this by showing Piper the authentic original blueprints that I discovered in 1976 and published in 1979.

For more than 20 years, I have repeatedly demonstrated that this "reconstructed" Auschwitz main camp "gas chamber" is really a *falsification*. I made this point most recently in the article "The 'Gas Chamber' of Auschwitz I," published in this very same Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal* issue (pp. 12-13). In that article I quoted two anti-revisionist historians who themselves have used the terms "false," "falsifications," "falsified" and "falsifying" in describing this "gas chamber."

More than 25 years ago, in a letter of October 11, 1975, to the famous writer André Malraux, I wrote:

"I have just returned from Poland. I visited, Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek. There the 'museographical frenzy' [a term used by French-Jewish historian Olga Wormser-Migot], in the matter of 'reconstructed' gas chambers, reaches proportions that I would have to describe as stunning if I were still subject to surprise at the base crassness that Man can invent when he lies."

Robert Faurisson
Vichy, France

For Continued Pursuit

Thank you one and all for the great work, and for your continued pursuit of truth. I wish I could help more financially.

H. F. H
Baltimore, Md.

Outstanding Work

Please accept my thanks for the documentation and source references you provided last year for a letter I sent to the *Journal of Forensic Sciences* in regard to a psychoanalytical study of Hitler based, in part, on the spurious reminiscences of Hermann Rauschning. As you know, this collection of invented quotations and events, which was accepted as evidence by the Nuremberg Tribunal, has been proven to be the concoctions of a disaffected National Socialist Party member. Unfortunately, though, this fraudulent document [published in the US under the title *The Voice of Destruction*] is often still cited as an authentic historical source.

A recent *Journal* item refers to

"Opole, in southern Poland." Your readers may be interested to know that until the massive ethnic cleansing of eastern Germany in 1945-46, this Silesian city of Oppeln was as German as Berlin or Leipzig. Over the years the IHR has courageously upheld the memory of this terrible episode of the Second World War, certainly its greatest war crime. It is ironic indeed that this unprecedented mass expulsion of twelve million human beings — most of them women and children — is eradicated from our collective memory, while the distorted history of another people is relentlessly pounded into us. Today even standard reference works misleadingly refer to such formerly German cities as Stettin, Breslau and Danzig as having been "returned" to the Poles after "liberation" from the Germans.

As the IHR has repeatedly pointed out, history does have fundamental implications for the future. Russo-Germans are being resettled in northern East Prussia, the Königsberg cathedral is being rebuilt, and twice the Russian government has offered to sell this region back to Germany. According to a recent poll, one-third of Poles living in eastern German lands expressed approval of a restoration of German suzerainty.

Allow me to congratulate the *Journal* on consistently outstanding work. Your articles (really, our articles) are practically unique.

Eric Rachut, M.D.
Moody, Texas

White Builders of Indian Civilizations?

In his complaint about "one sided history" (March-April 1999 *Journal*), Zoltán Bruckner laments the "disgraceful picture" given in an earlier issue by Mark Twain, "The Noble Red Man," and Kevin Beary, "Lifestyles: Native and Imposed." Just these two modest articles in a single issue of the *Journal*, it seems, are enough to upset Bruckner's notion of "balanced history." Although I am nearly 50 years old, the first critical or derogatory description of the American Indian I read anywhere was Twain's essay, as reprinted in the May-June 1998 *Journal*.

Accompanying Bruckner's article is a beautiful drawing of the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán. What is not mentioned is that this magnificent city wasn't built by the Aztecs. While archaeologists disagree about just who did build it (some believe it was the Olmecs, and others the Toltecs or the Cholulas), they all agree that it was built centuries before the coming of the Aztecs.

The Aztecs themselves — along with the Mayas and the Incas — ascribed the establishment of their civilizations to "bearded white men" from the East. The leader of these white men was called Quetzacoatl by the Aztecs, Kukulkan by the Mayas and Viracochá by the Incas.

It is well known that the spectacular victories of Cortés over the Aztecs, and of Pizarro over the Incas, each with a small band of conquistadors, were greatly helped by the natives' expectation of the return of the white "gods." In support of these stories, ancient sculptures and paintings of white, bearded men have been found throughout the Americas, particularly in the Mayan cities. Ancient mummies found in Peru also bear distinctly Caucasian features. [For more on all this, see, for example, *Early Man and the Ocean*, by Norwegian anthropologist and explorer Thor Heyderdahl.]

Even in North America some Indian tribes had similar myths of ancient white men, called "the Old Ones," described as tall, white-skinned and having red hair. Adding further weight to this thesis is the much-publicized discovery in 1996, on the north bank of the Columbia river, of the remains of a 9,300-year-old Caucasoid. With his long, narrow skull, this "Kennewick Man" is racially unlike the Indians of today.

In response to Bruckner's flattering portrayal of the Aztecs, it hardly seems necessary to add to the abundant evidence of their practices of mass human sacrifice and ritual cannibalism. It is estimated that the number of sacrificial victims in the Aztec empire as a whole reached about 250,000 per year by the beginning of the 16th century. (J. Milton, R. A. Orsi and N. Harrison, *The Feathered Serpent and the Cross*, p. 55.)

As for the popular notion of Indians living "in harmony with nature," it was only due to their backwardness that they did not ravage the environment. No Indian today, of course, dispenses with such products of "evil" European civilization as automobiles or televisions.

While granting that Indians received the dubious "gift" of alcohol from Europeans, let's not forget that Europeans received the similarly questionable "gift" of tobacco from Indians. Who can really say who got the worst of the exchange?

M. H.
Fargo, North Dakota

A Reliable Source

Not only do I read every single line of each *Journal* issue with pleasure, but I never miss an opportunity to pass along copies of items to my journalist friends. I get on very well with all the "friendly press" here in France. Let me tell you that they know very well that any information coming from the Institute for Historical Review is reliable. Such a level of trustworthiness is itself a victory in the revisionist struggle.

Y.S.
Le Vesinet, France

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Shermer, editor-publisher of *Skeptic* magazine, makes one startling concession after another. He acknowledges that numerous Holocaust claims — once "proven" by eyewitnesses and courts — are obviously not true. Shermer concedes, for example, that an execution "gas chamber" at Majdanek — shown to thousands of trusting tourists yearly — is a fraud. (At Nuremberg the Allies "proved" that the Germans murdered *one and half million* people at this one camp.)

This two hour clash — at a special IHR meeting on July 22, 1995 — dramatically gives the lie to the often-repeated claim that the Holocaust story is "undebatable."

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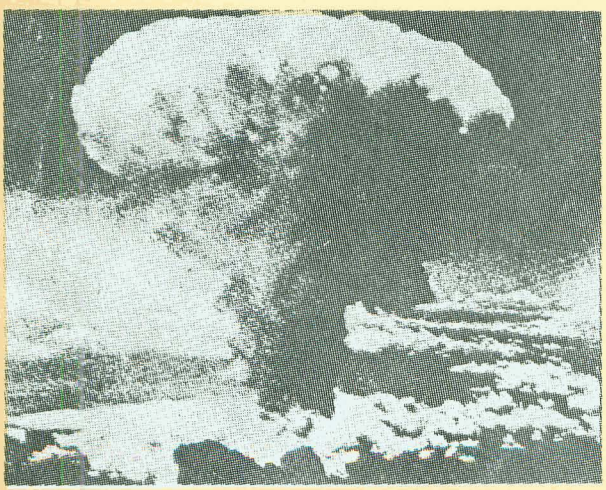

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